

2004
SPECIAL
ISSUE

Dateline

DEMOCRACY'S FRAGILE GRIP

INSIDE: WINNERS OF THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS



BRINGING HOME THE STORIES

The political infighting of Moscow. The struggle against AIDS in Africa. The cultural and religious tumult of South Asia. The aspiration for democracy in Havana. Chicago Tribune correspondents cover it all. They ask the hard questions and write the compelling stories that help bring clarity to an unpredictable and dangerous world.

Chicago Tribune

FOREIGN BUREAUS: BEIJING • CAIRO • HAVANA • JERUSALEM • JOHANNESBURG • LONDON • MEXICO CITY • MOSCOW • RIO DE JANEIRO • ROME • SOUTH ASIA

IS BORN

Bloomberg is proud to support
freedom of the press.

Dateline

RAW DEMOCRACY:
VOTING IN THE
APRIL, 2003,
PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION IN
KATSINA, NIGERIA

- 12** **A 51st State Called Iraq**
Hold elections, hand over power, and go home? Sorry, not a chance
By Fareed Zakaria
- 17** **A Tripod Is Not a Rifle**
Covering war is dangerous business, but too many journalists are dying needlessly
By David Schlesinger
- 18** **'Iraqis Don't Want a Civil War'**
Everyone believes ethnic strife will tear apart Iraq—everyone but the Iraqis, that is
By Hassan Fattah
- 22** **Afghanistan: Karzai in '04**
The U.S. is eager to show that elections can work—but there can be only one winner
By Mike Collett-White
- 26** **Wrong Turns in Russia**
Muzzling the media, jailing an oligarch, fawning over Putin—not encouraging signs
By Alex Rodriguez
- 33** **The OPC's Annual Awards**
The stories and photos that stood out in 2003
- 55** **Hong Kong: Hot for Democracy**
Citizens are voicing their desire for elections. Beijing is nervous
By Matt Pottinger
- 58** **A Hard Climb in Kosovo**
Can strong democratic institutions take root amid the ongoing ethnic turmoil?
By William O'Neill

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

- 5** Letter from the President
- 6** Reciprocal Agreements and Privileges
- 8** History: High Noon In Poland
- 61** Essay: The Perils of Opposition
- 64** A Report from Human Rights Watch
- 69** Protests: Defending Journalists Under Attack
- 72** Essay: One Fine Mess Called Democracy



Editor Michael S. Serrill
Executive Editor Michael Elliott
Associate Editors Doug Royalty
Larry Martz
Art Directors Linda T. Tran
Cynthia Hoffman

Picture Editors Crary Pullen
MaryAnne Golon
Production Directors Brian Fellows
Richard K. Prue
Publisher Kate McLeod
OPC Executive Director Sonya K. Fry

COVER: A GOVERNING COUNCIL MEMBER SIGNS IRAQ'S NEW BASIC LAW

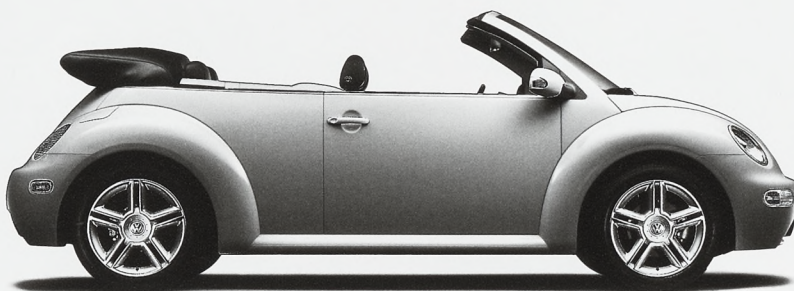
The OPC wishes to thank *Time* magazine for donating staff and facilities for the production of *Dateline*.

We also thank the following agencies and individuals for providing images to *Dateline*: ABACA, Agence France-Presse, Associated Press/Wide World Photos, The Canadian Press, Contact Press Images, Corbis, EPA, Getty Images, Chris Jones, Los Angeles Times, Magnum Photos, Polaris, Reuters and Time & Life Pictures.

Cover photo: Karim Sahib/AFP/Getty Images **Photo this page:** Schalk van Zuydam/AP


Published by the Overseas Press Club of America, which bears sole responsibility for its contents. Copyright 2004

Address: 40 West 45 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036 U.S.A. Phone: (212) 626-9220 *Dateline* original design by Jay Petrow



When you let the world in, it reciprocates.

Volkswagen applauds the Overseas Press Club for their continued outstanding journalistic achievements.

Drivers wanted.® 

Letter from the President

This month marks the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Overseas Press Club of America—a milestone birthday for our organization. In a year when international events once again dominated the news, the OPC has never seemed more relevant. The Club's activities since our last awards dinner have focused on some of the key issues and personalities of the day. Among them: French author and philosopher Bernard-Henri Levi joined us to talk about his provocative book, *Who Killed Daniel Pearl?*, an event that was broadcast on C-SPAN. Jessica Stern, the renowned terrorism expert at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, spoke about her timely new book, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*. We collaborated with the Asia Society and the Council on Foreign Relations for an evening with former Defense Secretary William Perry, who chillingly evoked the nuclear threat from North Korea. An event co-sponsored with the Foreign Policy Association drew a standing-room-only crowd, as Warren Hoge of *The New York Times* moderated a discussion about the U.N. with Linda Fasulo and Stephen Schlesinger, both of whom authored books about the organization.

I'm also pleased to say that our anniversary is the occasion for a re-launch of the OPC Web site (www.opcofamerica.org). Board member Michael Moran oversaw this ambitious project, and we



LEVI, GELBER, FRY



PERRY



STERN



FRIEDMAN

hope that with a new design and enhanced information about membership, awards, and the work of our important Freedom of the Press Committee, the Web site will be a resource for members around the world.

Finally, a few words about this evening's awards. As always, we honor correspondents and photojournalists who have distinguished themselves and their organizations with their coverage of international news. And in our signature President's Award, we also pay tribute to one of the most brilliant journalists in our field, *New York Times* Foreign Affairs columnist Tom Friedman, a three-time Pulitzer Prize winner and two-time OPC award winner. He joins an illustrious roster of award winners that includes Katharine Graham, Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor, and Stephen B. Shepard. They have all brought distinction to our profession.

Alexis Gelber, President



OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA • BOARD OF GOVERNORS 2003-2004

President

Alexis Gelber
Director of Special Projects
Newsweek

First Vice-President

Marshall Loeb
Columnist & Advisory Board
CBSmarketwatch.com

Second Vice-President

Richard Stolley
Senior Editorial Adviser
Time Inc.

Third Vice-President

Robert Dowling
Managing Editor/International
BusinessWeek

Treasurer

Jacqueline Albert-Simon
U.S. Bureau Chief
Politique Internationale

Secretary

Michael S. Serrill
Senior Editor/International
BusinessWeek

Active Board Members

Harry Benson
Photojournalist
Harry Benson Ltd.

John Bussey
Deputy Managing Editor
The Wall Street Journal

Patrick Chu
Managing Editor
Bloomberg News

Jane Ciabattari
Contributing Editor
Parade

Pete Engardio
Senior International
News Editor
BusinessWeek

Laurie Garrett
Senior Fellow for
Global Health
Council on Foreign Relations

Barton Gellman
Special Projects
The Washington Post

John R. MacArthur
Publisher
Harper's Magazine

Kevin McDermott
New Media Consultant

Cait Murphy
Senior Editor
Fortune

James O'Shea
Managing Editor
Chicago Tribune

Andrew Rosenthal
Deputy Editorial Page Editor
The New York Times

David Schlesinger
Global Managing Editor
Reuters

Nicolas Tatro
Deputy International Editor
Associated Press

Active Alternates

Michael Moran
Senior Correspondent
MSNBC

Michael Glennon
Senior Editor, *cfr.org*
Council on Foreign Relations

Associate Board Members

Ann Charters
Chairman, Off-the-Record
Foreign Policy Association

Bill Collins
Director, Public and
Business Affairs
Ford Motor Company

Minky Worden
Electronic Media Director
Human Rights Watch

Associate Alternate

Yvonne Dunleavy
Author/Journalist

Past Presidents Ex-Officio

John Corporon
William Holstein
Larry Martz
Barrett McGurn
Jack Raymond
Roy Rowan
Leonard Saffir
Larry Smith

Executive Director

Sonya K. Fry

Where OPC Members Are Welcome

UNITED STATES

National Press Club

National Press Building
14th and F Streets, NW
Washington, DC 20045
202-662-7500
202-662-7569 – fax
www.press.org

Albuquerque Press Club

201 Highland Park Circle, SE
Albuquerque, NM 87102
505-243-8476 phone/fax

Atlanta Press Club

34 Broad Street
18th floor
Atlanta, GA 30303
404-577-7377
404-223-3706 – fax
info@atlpressclub.org
www.atlantapressclub.org

International Press Club of Chicago

Mailing address:
2928 West Coyle Avenue
Chicago, IL 60645
773-274-6215
773-274-5636 – fax
www.chicagopressclub.com
Wednesday Luncheons at Tavern Club
333 North Michigan Avenue, 25th floor

Press Club of Dallas

Office: 10000 North Central
Suite 1036
Dallas, TX 75231
214-373-1700
214-515-1715 – fax
pressclubdallas@mindspring.com
www.pressclubdallas.com

Greater Los Angeles Press Club

6464 Sunset Boulevard
Suite 806
Hollywood, CA 90028
323-469-8180
323-469-8183 – fax
info@lapressclub.org
www.lapressclub.org

Miami International Press Club

Office: 555 N.E. 15th Street
Suite 25K
Miami, FL 33132
305-372-9966
305-372-9967 – fax
Club at Miami Shore Country Club
10000 Biscayne Boulevard
305-795-2360

Omaha Press Club

1620 Dodge Street
Suite 2200
Omaha, NE 68102
402-345-8587
402-345-0114 – fax

opc@omahapressclub.com
www.omahapressclub.com

The Press Club of Metropolitan St. Louis

Webster University, Downtown Campus
911 Washington Avenue
Suite 170
St. Louis, MO 63101
314-241-6397
314-621-9232 – fax

CANADA

National Press Club of Canada

150 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5A4
613-233-5641
613-233-3511 – fax
accounting@pressclub.on.ca
www.pressclub.on.ca

Montreal Press Club/Cercle des Journalistes de Montreal

c/o The Claddagh
1433 Crescent Street
Montreal, Quebec H3G 2B2
514-875-0964

BRAZIL

Associação dos Correspondentes Estrangeiros

Rua Oscar Freire 953
01426-001 Sao Paulo, SP
(55-11) 3061-0214
(55-11) 280-0794 – fax
Informal association



Press Club, Antwerp

AUSTRIA

Presseclub Concordia

Bankgasse 8
1010 Vienna
(43-1) 533 85 73
(43-1) 533 71 72 – fax
office@concordia.at
www.concordia.at

BELGIUM

Internationaal Perscentrum Vlaanderen

Grote Markt 40
2000 Antwerp
(32-3) 225 1564
(32-3) 232 2130 – fax
ipv@pandora.be
www.ipvlaanderen.be

Press House of Liege and Luxembourg

9 rue Haute Sauveniere
4000 Liege
(32-42) 22 23 39
(32-42) 22 24 39 – fax
ric@maisondelapresse.be
www.maisondelapresse.be

Press House of Mons-Hainaut

Rue des Clercs 32
7000 Mons
(32-65) 34 73 36
(32-65) 84 22 93 – fax

ENGLAND

London Press Club

St. Bride Institute
14 Bride Lane
Fleet Street
London EC4Y 8EQ
(44-20) 7353-7086
(44-20) 7353-7087 – fax
lpressclub@aol.com
londonpressclub.co.uk
Restaurant and bar at City Golf Club
24 Bride Lane
(44-20) 7402-2566

The Foreign Press Association in London

11 Carlton House Terrace
London SW1Y 5AJ
(44-20) 7930-0445
(44-20) 7925-0469 – fax
secretariat@foreign-press.org.uk
www.foreign-press.org.uk

FRANCE

Press Club de France

8 rue Jean Goujon
75008 Paris
(33-1) 40 74 79 79
(33-1) 40 74 79 29 – fax
www.pressclub.fr



Press Club, Hong Kong

Press Club of Strasbourg
European Center of Communication
76 allée de la Robertsau
67000 Strasbourg
(33-3) 88 35 66 61
(33-3) 88 25 16 45 – fax
www.europearegions.com/clubpres

GERMANY

Press Club of Frankfurt
Saalgasse 30
60311 Frankfurt a.M.1
(49-69) 288 800
(49-69) 295 803 – fax
www.frankfurter-presse-club.de

International Press Club of Munich
Marienplatz 22
80331 München
(49-89) 2602 4848
(49-89) 2602 4850 – fax
presseclubmuenchen@t-online.de
www.presseclub-muenchen.de

HUNGARY

Budapest Press Club
Andrássy út 101
1062 Budapest
(36-1) 34 26 500
(36-1) 34 24 367 – fax

ITALY

Circolo della Stampa-Milan
Palazzo Serbelloni
Corso Venezia 16
20121 Milano
(39-2) 76022671
(39-2) 76009034 – fax
circolostampa@tin.it

Circolo della Stampa-Naples
Villa Comunale
80121 Naples
(39-81) 764-2588
(39-81) 764-4746 – fax
stampana@tin.it

Club della Stampa-Sicily
Mollica 71
95020 Cannizzaro
(39-95) 27 41 45
(39-95) 27 46 92 – fax

Circolo della Stampa-Turin
Palais Ceriana-Mayneri
Co Stati Uniti 27
Turin
(39-11) 39 0780

MALTA

Malta Press Club
104/1 Old Mint Street
Valletta
(356) 21 24 32 12
(356) 21 24 92 90 – fax
media@sjcav.org
www.maltapressclub.org.mt

SPAIN

Barcelona International Press Centre
Rambla de Catalunya 10,1er
08007 Barcelona
(34-93) 412 11 11
(34-93) 317 83 86 – fax

cipb@periodistes.org
www.cipb.periodistes.org

SWITZERLAND

Geneva Press Club
106 route de Ferney
1202 Geneva
(41-22) 918-5041
(41-22) 918-5043
secretariat@csp.ge.ch
www.pressclub.ch

ISRAEL

Foreign Press Association in Israel
Beit Sokolov
4 Kaplan Street
Tel Aviv 64734
(972-3) 691-6143
(972-3) 696-1548 – fax
fpa@netvision.net.il
www.fpa.org.il
No clubhouse

MEMBER PRIVILEGES



Sofitel Champs-Elysees, Paris

CLUB QUARTERS

Reservations: 212-575-0006
From Europe call: (44-(0)20) 7666-1616
E-mail: reservations@clubquarters.com

NEW YORK

40 West 45 Street
52 Williams Street

BOSTON

161 Devonshire Street

CHICAGO

111 West Adams Street

PHILADELPHIA

1628 Chestnut Street

SAN FRANCISCO

424 Clay Street at the
Embarcadero Center

WASHINGTON, DC

839 17th Street, NW

LONDON

7-12 Gracechurch Street
16-28 Ludgate Hill (near St.Paul's)

PARIS

Sofitel Champs-Elysees

8 rue Jean Goujon
75008 Paris
(33-1) 40 74 64 64
(33-1) 40 74 79 66
Four-star hotel.
Present OPC membership card upon
arrival and fax copy of card when making
a reservation
e-mail: H1184@accor-hotels.com

DUBLIN

Stephen's Green Hibernian Club

9 St. Stephen's Green
Dublin 2
(353-1) 677 4744
(353-1) 677 4202 – fax
email: sgc@iol.ie
Breakfast included with room. Dining facilities
(coat and tie), bar, snooker tables

HONG KONG

The Foreign Correspondents' Club of Hong Kong

North Block - 2 Lower Albert Road
(852) 2521 1511
(852) 2868 4092 - fax
fcc@fchhk.org
www.fchhk.org
FCC must issue photo ID card; bring photo or be charged for instant photo

JAPAN

The Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan

Yurakucho Denki Building, 20th floor
7-1 Yurakucho 1-chome, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 100
(81-3) 3211-3161
(81-3) 3211-3168 - fax
front@fccj.or.jp
www.fccj.or.jp

KOREA

Seoul Foreign Correspondents' Club

Korea Press Center - 18th floor
25 Taepyong-ro 1-ka
Chung Ku, Seoul
(82-2) 734-3272
(82-2) 734-7712 - fax



Press Club, London

THAILAND

The Foreign Correspondents Club of Thailand

Penthouse, Maneeya Center
518/5 Pleonchit Road, Patumwan
Bangkok 10330
(66-2) 652-0580 - office
(66-2) 652-0582 - fax
(66-2) 254-8165 - club

CAMBODIA

Foreign Correspondents Club of Cambodia

363 Sisowath Quay

Phnom Penh
(855-23) 27757
(855-23) 27758 - fax

VIETNAM

Press Club, Hanoi

59A Ly Thai To
Hanoi
(84-4) 9340888
(84-4) 9340899 - fax

AUSTRALIA

Foreign Correspondents' Association-Australia & South Pacific

Box A2404
Sydney South NSW 1235
(61-2) 9564-3295 - secretary phone
(61-2) 9564-3959 - fax
fca@foreigncorrespondents.org
website: www.foreigncorrespondents.org
Sydney Media Centre on Park Street

NEW ZEALAND

National Press Club


Central House, Top Floor
26 Brandon Street
Wellington
(64-4) 499-2797
(64-4) 499-0056 - fax
www.nationalpressclub.org.nz

“We believe our first responsibility is to the doctors, nurses and patients, to mothers and fathers and all others who use our products and services. In meeting their needs everything we do must be of high quality.”

From the Johnson & Johnson Credo

Johnson & Johnson

ONE JOHNSON & JOHNSON PLAZA • NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ 08933

A close-up photograph of a woman wearing a patterned shirt and a large ring, pointing her finger at a newspaper held in front of her. The newspaper features Arabic text and a red bull logo. The background is slightly blurred, showing a woven basket.

EMPOWERMENT BEGINS WITH ENLIGHTENMENT.



NBC NEWS

America's News Leader

BY ANDREW NAGORSKI

High Noon In Poland

Solidarity's against-all-odds victory in the 1989 election was the stuff of Hollywood drama. For a reporter, it was the story of a lifetime

Like Gary Cooper in *High Noon*, Poland's Solidarity movement knew that it was facing seemingly impossible odds. By any rational calculation, Solidarity was doomed to fail in June, 1989, when it prepared for the country's first semi-free elections in more than 50 years. After all, the majority of the parliamentary seats remained uncontested, reserved for the Communist Party and its allies. But Poles grew up admiring Hollywood Westerns, and they knew the ending of *High Noon*. Which was why Solidarity's decision to plaster the country with posters from the movie was a stroke of genius. In the Solidarity version, Cooper sports a union sticker above his marshal's badge, and the red Solidarity logo is emblazoned behind him. The message was clear: Like Cooper's Will Kane, Solidarity could win, even though everything was rigged for it to lose.

The tale of how Solidarity won an election that was openly fixed, and how that remarkable event triggered a chain reaction that quickly led to the collapse of the Soviet empire, is replete with dramatic flourishes that no one could have predicted—not even Lech Walesa, Solidarity's charismatic leader, or his entourage of intellectual advisers. The activists were convinced that they were in the early stages of the struggle for popular sovereignty. But by winning bigger than anyone imagined to be possible, they transformed a part-free, part-sham event into a legitimate electoral contest. And when they saw the results, they were adept enough to recalibrate their ambitions, aiming for real power instead of modest concessions.

It's a tale that electrified all of us who were lucky enough to cover it: the rebellion of workers in a "workers' state," the infectious euphoria of Solidarity rallies, the elevation of the oppressed and the humbling of their oppressors. Toss in the fact that veterans of the underground press were suddenly allowed to publish a newspaper that became the country's largest daily—then come up with a daring proposition that led to the transfer of power to the first democratic government—and you have a recipe for stories that foreign correspondents normally can only dream about.

In April, 1989, General Wojciech Jaruzelski's government and Solidarity had reached an agreement for the partly contested elections and the publication of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, or *Electoral Gazette*, as the first legal opposition daily. With legendary, oft-imprisoned activist Adam Michnik as its editor, the paper offered maximum coverage



"YOUR PRESIDENT, OUR PRIME MINISTER": JARUZELSKI, WALESA

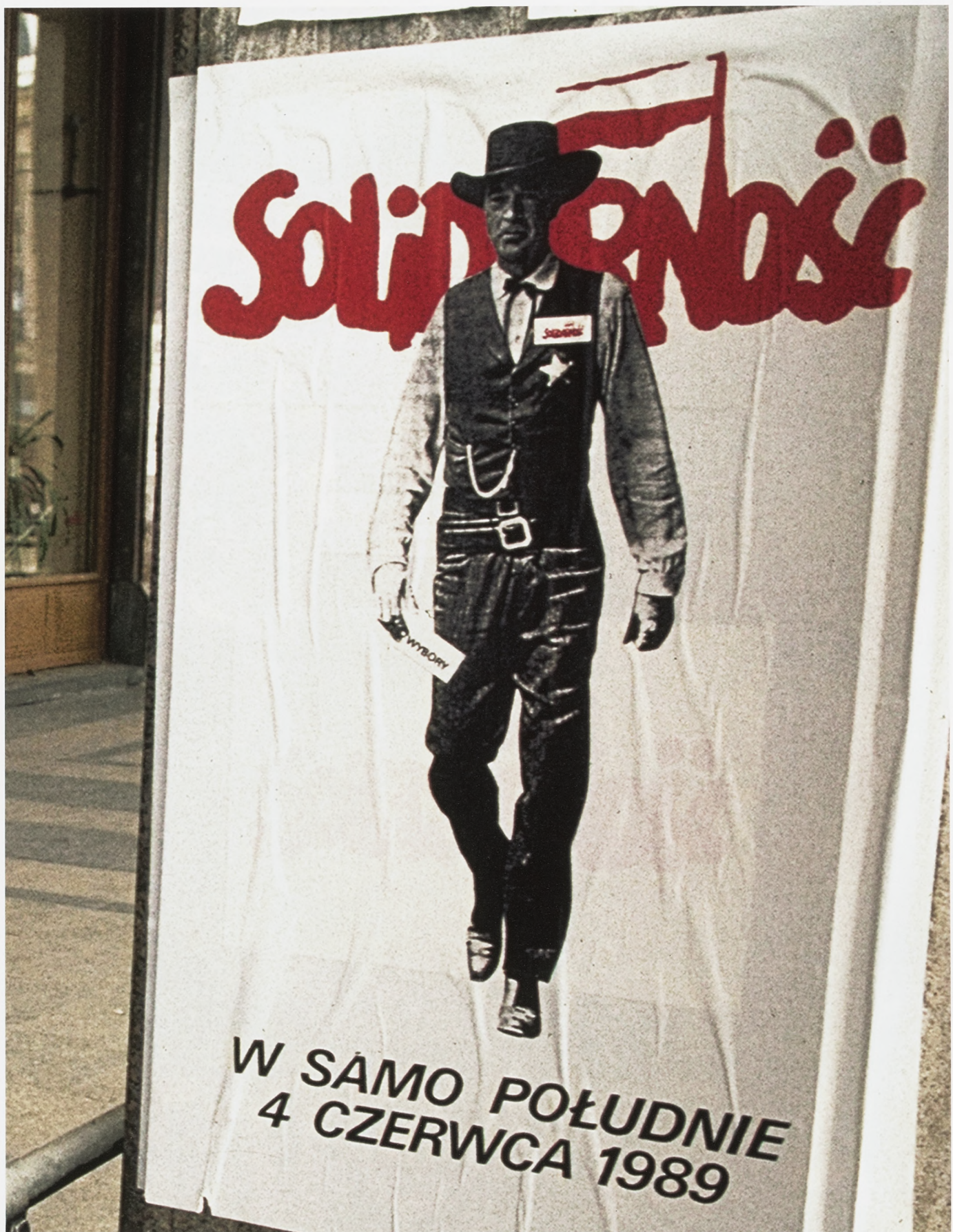
to Walesa and the slate of Solidarity candidates. Since they still controlled television and the other dailies, the Communists were convinced they could win a respectable portion of the contested seats. Instead, Solidarity won all 161 seats that were up for grabs in the lower house of Parliament, and 99 of the 100 seats in the newly created Senate. This wasn't just a defeat of the Communists; it was total humiliation.

In theory, the Communists, along with two small puppet parties, could still govern with their rigged majority. But alarmed by the unequivocal election results, the two small parties abruptly broke with the Communists, making it impossible for them to form a new government. Despite warnings from many of his advisers that he was walking into a trap, Walesa insisted on upping the stakes and pushing for the creation of the first non-communist government in Eastern Europe. The skeptics worried that a Solidarity-led government would inherit a country on the verge of economic collapse, and that the Kremlin could use a crisis as an excuse to reassert its authority.

It was then that *Gazeta Wyborcza's* Michnik weighed in with a dramatic compromise. Under the headline "Your President, Our Prime Minister," he proposed that the Communists accept an opposition prime minister, and that Solidarity MPs help elevate Jaruzelski, who had imposed martial law in 1981 to crush the popular movement, to the presidency. This would satisfy Solidarity and mollify the Kremlin.

The rest, to borrow the old cliché, is history. Jaruzelski lasted only a year as president until the first direct elections, which were won by Walesa. Meanwhile, Hungary threw open its border with Austria, mass protests toppled the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, paving the way for dissident playwright Vaclav Havel to become president, and the Berlin Wall collapsed. Putting aside the grisly executions of Romania's dictator, Nicolae Ceasescu, and his wife, Elena, which constitute a separate chapter, this wasn't a *High Noon* ending—at least not in the sense of a shootout. But there was no doubt that Gary Cooper had prevailed, and the bad guys had lost. All because of the power of the ballot box. ■

Nagorski, a senior editor at Newsweek International, reported from Poland in the 1980s and was Newsweek's Warsaw bureau chief from 1990-94. His latest book, Last Stop Vienna, is a novel about the early years of the Nazi movement.



IF MARSHAL KANE COULD DO IT, SO COULD SOLIDARITY: THE MOVEMENT'S CAMPAIGN POSTER

VOLATILE MIX: SHIITE
MUSLIMS DEMAND A
FAIR ELECTION
PROCESS IN BAGHDAD



A 51ST STATE

Hold elections, hand over power, and go home? Sorry. Building a lasting

BY FAREED ZAKARIA

My favorite story about the war in Iraq took place in April, 2003, when coalition forces were sweeping through the country. The 101st Airborne Division rolled into the city of Najaf in the south, the heart of Shiite Islam and a place of great religious importance with a deeply pious populace. There, watching the waves of troops, tanks, and armored vehicles storm by, stood a man, waving out to the soldiers. Noting this, a reporter for *The New York Times* asked the man why he was waving. What did he hope the Americans would bring to Iraq? The man replied with three words, each louder than the other. "Democracy, whiskey...sexy," he said. Who says the American Dream is dead?

It will not take much effort to bring whiskey and sex to Iraq—if indeed they ever left. But introducing democracy to a region that has not known it will be more complicated. Within days after the war's formal close, pundits and policy wonks had a new refrain: "Now comes the hard part." In an important sense, though, this is wrong. It will not be hard for America to make Iraq a better place than it was. Improving on Saddam Hussein's tyranny should be easy. If the next government of Iraq does not routinely imprison, torture, and gas its people, institute a reign of terror, systematically persecute the Shiites and the Kurds, and steal the lion's share of national resources for the Army and secret police, then it

CALLED IRAQ

ing democracy will require an American presence for years to come

will be a better regime than Iraq has had for three decades.

America's goal, however, is much broader—to create a lasting and genuine democracy. It is a worthwhile endeavor, a chance not only to rid the Arab world of a monstrous dictatorship but also to help foster a new model for Arab politics. But it will be difficult. In fact, helping create a new Iraq will be the greatest foreign policy project America has undertaken in a generation. And while the skill of the U.S. military has made it easier to win wars, the tasks of building democracy, reshaping a political culture, and creating new mind-sets are as complex as they ever were. There may be a revolution in military affairs under way, but the promotion of democracy remains an old-fashioned business. If we want to succeed, we will have to come to terms with the reality that America now has a 51st state called Iraq.

President George W. Bush has often said that America wants to help build democracy in Iraq. He has also said that America will hand over power to Iraqis as soon as possible. These are, of course, the politically correct things to say. Washington does not want to look like an occupying power, and thus there will be a process of transferring sovereignty to Iraqis. This will also force Iraqis who want to govern to become responsible and accountable for their actions. But the history of political and economic reform around the world suggests that building democracy in Iraq will require some kind of major and dominant American (or international) presence there for years. We can leave fast or we can nurture democracy, but we cannot do both.

This is not because the Iraqi people don't want democracy or aren't capable of it. The scenes of liberated Baghdad should remind us—as did similar scenes in Kabul after the Afghan war—that people the world over do not like to be oppressed. No culture or religion makes them content to forgo their basic rights. But wanting democracy and achieving it are two different things. Over the past decade, the developing world has been littered with examples of quick transitions to democracy that have gone badly awry.

We could, of course, hold elections in Iraq, hand over power, and go home. But

my thesis is that elections alone do not produce democracy. Consider Russia, where President Vladimir V. Putin wins elections but rules like an autocrat. He has forced his political opponents out of office, weakened other branches of government, and intimidated the once free media into near-total silence. And he's one of the success stories. In Venezuela, the elected demagogue Hugo Chavez has turned himself into a dictator, running his rich country into the ground.

Paddy Ashdown, the Briton who was appointed "czar" of Bosnia, admits that administrators there got the sequence wrong: "We thought that democracy was the highest priority, and we measured it by the number of elections we could organize. The result even years later is that

the people of Bosnia have grown weary of voting. In addition, the focus on elections slowed our efforts to tackle organized crime and corruption, which have jeopardized quality of life and scared off foreign investment.

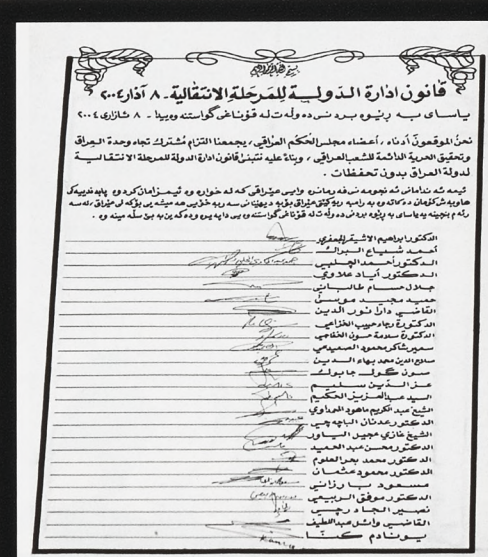
"In hindsight," he continued, "we

should have put the establishment of the rule of law first, for everything else depends on it: a functioning economy, a free and fair political system, the development of civil society, public confidence in police and the courts."

Vice-President Dick Cheney remarked that Iraq's oil resources—the second-largest in the world—will be a "significant advantage" when building democracy. This is a common refrain, echoed by many within and without the administration. Unfortunately, the opposite is closer to the truth. With the exception of Norway and Britain, virtually all the world's oil states are dictatorships. This is not an accident. Oil—like other natural resources—does not help produce capitalism, civil society, and thus democracy. It actually retards that process. I call oil-rich countries "trust fund states," because easy money makes it unnecessary to do the hard work of creating a modern society.

No Iraqi will read my analysis and come to the conclusion that the country should seal up its oil wells and forswear its natural resources—nor should he. But it is crucial to ask how best to limit the damaging political and economic effects of oil wealth. It is not an impossible task. After all, some trust-fund kids turn out

Unfortunately, vast oil resources do not help produce democracy. Most of the world's oil states are dictatorships



IRAQ'S INTERIM CONSTITUTION: THE DOCUMENT IS A STEP TOWARD SELF-RULE, BUT A VERY TENTATIVE STEP

>> SIGNING THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION: CAN POWER BE DIVIDED, SHARED, AND CHECKED?



WATCHING AND WORRYING: IRAQI POLICEMEN GUARD A BURNING OIL PIPELINE OUTSIDE KARBALA



well. The key is to take the wealth out of the arbitrary control of the state. This could mean privatizing the oil industry. But in Iraq, the oil is largely in the Shiite, Kurdish, and Turkoman areas, which could trigger ethnic conflict (as happened in Nigeria). Privatization would also probably enrich a few well-connected Iraqis and create corrupt oligarchs, as happened in Russia. So it might be worth looking at the structure of the few well-run state petroleum companies—Malaysia's Petronas, for example—as models.

But perhaps the best approach is to create a national trust—with transparent and internationally monitored accounting—into which all oil revenues flow. These revenues could be spent only in specified ways: on, for example, health care and education. The World Bank has been experimenting with such a model with Chad, the tiny oil-rich African state. Alaska is another successful version of this model. Steven Clemons of the New America Foundation points out that Alaska distributes its oil revenues directly to its residents, bypassing the corruption usually created by leaving it in the hands of governments or oligarchs. This is a variation of land reform, redistributing wealth broadly, which was crucial in spurring democracy in Japan and almost all other feudal societies. I would prefer to create pension accounts with the money so that it boosts Iraqi savings rather than goes toward immediate consumption.

The second great obstacle to Iraqi democracy is also one of its great strengths—its ethnic and religious diversity. The two dramatic and successful transitions to democracy in recent memory are Germany and Japan, which became reasonably mature democracies within a decade of World War II. Both were advanced, industrializing countries, but more important, both were ethnically homogeneous. Iraq is riven with ethnic and religious differences. Its 25 million people are made up of Kurds (15% to 20%), Sunni Arabs (15% to 20%), Shiite Arabs (60%), plus Turkomans, Assyrians, and other Christians.

Religious, tribal, and ethnic divisions have been growing sharper in Iraq in recent years. For much of the past half century, Iraqis saw themselves as Iraqis first and then Shiites or Sunnis. The Baath Party, with its socialist leanings, downplayed religion, tribe, and ethnicity, teaching that these were signs of backwardness. But over the past 10 years, Saddam Hussein has encouraged religious and tribal loyalties. Saddam, the secular leader, became Saddam, the builder of mosques

and the convener of tribal gatherings. Dancing at these events, he would shoot a rifle in the air in true tribal spirit.

In part, this was Saddam's crude attempt to gain legitimacy. But it also reflects a general rise of identity politics in the Arab world. The failure of regimes like Saddam's—originally Western-styled, socialist, secular—has led people to see Islam as their salvation and to seek comfort in their tribal and ethnic backgrounds. Young democracies have a very poor record of handling ethnic and religious conflict.

Elections require that politicians compete for votes. In societies without strong traditions of tolerance and multi-ethnic groups, the easiest way to get support is by appealing to people's most basic affiliations—racial, religious, ethnic. Once one group wins, it usually excludes the other from power. The opposition becomes extreme, sometimes violent. This does not have to happen, but it often does.

Diversity, properly handled, can be a great source of strength in Iraq. But power will have to be divided, shared, and checked. The constitution of a new Iraq should create a federal state, with substantial local autonomy. The regions should not be all ethnically or religiously based. The electoral system should not create a "winner take all" system, in which a party that wins 51% of the vote gets all the political power. Let the losers share in the spoils. Have both a head of state (a president) and a head of government (a prime minister), which is another way to give some representation to various communities. So a Shiite prime minister could govern while a Kurdish president would be the titular head of state, and a Sunni could be appointed Foreign Minister.

If all goes well, the Bush administration seems to believe that it can very quickly rebuild Iraqi infrastructure, get basic services operating, and transfer power to an Iraqi government. This scenario, however, is unlikely to play out as smoothly and quickly as people expect. Virtually everywhere the United States has intervened—Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan—military forces and political "advisers" have had to stay far longer than anyone expected. In Afghanistan, the administration thought it

could establish order quickly and cheaply. It has had to reverse course—only to find it might now be too late.

Transferring power to Iraqis sounds wonderful, but in practice one transfers power to certain Iraqis. As they are selected, others are excluded. The excluded may not accept their fate quietly. Rivalries, feuds, score-settling, and political jostling begin, and the country will stay peaceful only if an undisputed authority keeps the peace. That undisputed authority needs two characteristics, power and legitimacy. The U.S. has focused its attentions entirely on the former, neglecting the strength that the latter could provide—

its oil supplies, and backing the state of Israel. Most important, they were among the most powerful countries in the world and thus bound to excite a certain degree of nationalism from any small nation. That is how the world works.

The greatest modernizer of the Middle East, Turkey's Kemal Ataturk, was able to revolutionize his country in large part because he had unimpeachable credentials as a nationalist. He fought the Western powers even while he Westernized his country. It is impossible to know who will rule Iraq in a few years, but no one can doubt that it will be someone who can appeal to Iraqi nationalism.

In the next year or two, it will likely seem that democracy in Iraq is working. A new government will be formed. Elections will be held. Hope will fill the air. But that does not necessarily mean that democracy in Iraq will last. The decay of democracy usually takes place a few years after the birth. It can be prevented, and, of course, the United States should do all it can to make democracy stick. But ultimately it is Iraqis who will build a new Iraq.

They have one important advantage. The single most important strength a society can have is a committed, reformist elite. That has been at the heart of the success of Central Europe, weathering through all its ups and downs. Botswana's success—by African standards—has much to do with having had three consecutive good presidents. There is no magic formula to create such statesmen, but Iraq has a significant advantage—the memory of Saddam Hussein. Just as the backdrop of communism spurred Central Europeans to reform, so Iraq's long nightmare might well make its leaders determined to break with the past. National trials, memoirs, truth and reconciliation commissions, oral histories—all will help maintain and recover that memory. No matter what problems they face, most Iraqis will surely try hard to ensure that their country never again enters the abyss it has been in for three decades. ■

Zakaria is editor of the international editions of Newsweek. This article is adapted from his recently published book, The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad.



SELLING PAPERS ON THE STREETS OF BAGHDAD: NEW INDEPENDENT MEDIA REFLECT THE COUNTRY'S DIVERSITY

either through international institutions or through a more diplomatic method of operation. Thus, American officials were blindsided by the power wielded by Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, the country's leading Shiite figure who derailed administration plans for a transition with a few well-chosen objections. Sistani is a bookish scholar with little money and no military might. But being the most respected Shiite cleric in Iraq, and viewed widely as an Iraqi nationalist, he has that magical source of power, legitimacy. And when he went face to face with the mighty Americans, it was they who blinked.

The United States went to Iraq sure that if it liberated the country it would have no legitimacy problem. This was a triumphalist view that was strangely ahistorical. After all, the United States and its principal ally, Britain, were not coming to the Middle East with a pristine image. Rightly or wrongly, these two powers are seen as having dominated the region for a century, choosing its leaders, controlling

A Tripod Is NOT A Rifle

Covering war is dangerous, yes, but too many journalists are dying needlessly. Please, Washington, help us reduce the risks

BY DAVID SCHLESINGER

Australian cameraman Paul Moran: killed by a car bomb in northern Iraq, March 22, 2003. Terry Lloyd of Britain's Independent Television News: killed after coming under fire on the way to Basra, in southern Iraq, that same day. Cameraman Fred Nerac and translator Hussein Othman, traveling with Lloyd, are still missing. That's how the tragic roll call of journalists killed in Iraq began. How it will end is unclear, but it is no mystery that we must find a way to reduce the risks for journalists.

Death by car bomb, death by illness, death in vehicle accidents. Death in bombing raids, death in missile strikes, death at the hands of bandits, death in ambushes, and death at the hand of American troops. In 2004, CNN's Duraid Isa Mohammed and Yasser Khatab became the latest journalist casualties when they were ambushed.

Many organizations have lost staff in this conflict. At Reuters, we mourn two of our staff killed in incidents involving the U.S. military. Realizing that the toll could have been higher, we refuse to trust in luck to keep our people alive. We are horrified that when our journalists are killed, wounded, mistreated, and detained by U.S. troops, we have found it so difficult to engage with the Pentagon to find ways to reduce the risks.

On April 8, 2003, Reuters cameraman Taras Protsyuk was killed by a U.S. tank shell as he filmed from the balcony of Baghdad's Palestine Hotel, base for journalists in Iraq. José Couso, a cameraman for Spain's Tele 5, was also killed. Three other Reuters staff were wounded. The military cites self-defense and fear of snipers as the reason for the shelling, yet it appears the tank crew wasn't told that journalists were in the hotel.

Surely a simple means of reducing the risks is for the military to share fully basic intelligence on the movements of non-combatants. The glint of sun on a rifle scope and the glint of sun on a camera lens may look similar, but with knowledge of where journalists are massed, a tank

commander might be able to make a more informed, and hopefully less tragic, decision on what action to take.

Then on Aug. 17, our cameraman Mazen Dana was killed by U.S. troops who apparently mistook his camera for a weapon. More than six months later, we received a report from the Pentagon calling the incident "tragic and regrettable" but "justified based on the information available...at the time." That's just not

Pentagon if all war reporters were embedded with units and under its care and control. But that's not possible if we are to tell the complete story, one that's built up as a composite from all angles. "Unilaterals" must exist and be able to do their reporting without undue fear or threat.

Journalists must be ready to work with the military on credentialing and other means of identifying professionals. But both sides have to act quickly. War report-



KILLED ON THE JOB: REUTERS CAMERAMAN DANA (UPPER RIGHT) FILMING A RIOT IN BASRA ON AUG. 17, 2003; REUTERS CAMERAMAN PROTSYUK (INSET)

good enough for me. Tragic, I agree with, and regrettable too. But I will never accept that the death of a journalist holding a camera is justified.

On Jan. 2, three of our staff were detained and mistreated by U.S. troops who claimed insurgents disguised as journalists had fired on them. No weapons were found. Our people were doing legitimate newsgathering. We think it is essential for the safety of all journalists in Iraq that the assertion that enemy personnel were posing as journalists—an assertion for which the U.S. military has admitted there is no credible evidence—be retracted.

We know it would be easier for the

ing is dangerous. Accidents happen. But a camera is not a grenade launcher. A tripod is not a rifle. A cameraman is not a guerilla. And the military must learn to tell the difference.

Death by ambush, death by accident, death by land mine, death by bandits: So many deaths are unavoidable. But let's end the death by ignorance, the death by lack of shared intelligence, the death by mistaken identity, the death by being merely—and honorably—a working journalist doing an honest day's work. ■

Schlesinger, based in New York, is the global managing editor of Reuters



ILL WILL IN BAGHDAD:
A DEFACTO GREETING
FOR U.S. TROOPS

Dateline

'IRAQIS DON'T WANT A CIVIL WAR'

BY HASSAN FATTAH

As our 1970s-style Russian-made Lada meandered through Baghdad's suburbs earlier this year, Ahmad, an army commander turned cab driver, launched the usual barrage of questions that Iraqis demand of returning émigrés like me. "What is life like outside?" Ahmad asked, with a charming sincerity. Stubby and grizzled, he was the archetypal middle-aged Iraqi. He had seen more than a decade of war and its associated tragedies. He had spent much of his life in the army and now was grappling with the dramatic changes facing the country. "What is New York really like? What could I do

to make a living in a place like that? And what do Americans do for fun?"

Like most Iraqis, Ahmad had never been outside the country; he had never



PATRIOTIC KISS: A GRADUATING
IRAQI CIVIL DEFENSE CORP OFFICER

even flown on an airplane. Cut off from the world for decades, he was desperate to understand what he had missed. But just as important, he was desperate for a window into the American psyche. Ultimately, he had one main question on his mind. "Iraqis don't want a civil war here," he began. "Is it the Americans who want the civil war?"

As Iraqis wrestle with the transition to democracy, it can seem as if half of the world outside expects that the attempt is doomed—that rather than ending up with a democratic state, Iraq will slip into civil strife. For weeks, U.S. officials, security analysts, and the foreign press corps have been sounding that awful drumbeat. Even the local press has started to talk up the



There's nothing foreign to our
foreign correspondents.

Congratulations to the winners of the Overseas Press Club Award
from your friends and colleagues at CBS News.

Experience You Can Trust.

CBS NEWS

chances of unrest. Yet lost in the noise are the voices of Iraqis themselves. A civil war is the last thing people in this country want. In fact, most Iraqis are increasingly optimistic that the nation has already started on the slow, messy trek toward a genuine democracy. With each new terrorist attack, the Iraqis have become ever more conscious of a clear campaign to drag them into fighting one another. But Sunni, Shiite, and Kurdish leaders alike have been quick to calm tempers and to emphasize that the ethnic divisions that are being cleaved among them are coming from outside the country, not from within. The foreign press has been slow to acknowledge their growing unity even amid the tumult.

To be fair, it is not difficult to see why so many fear that the democratic experiment in Iraq might fail. There are, to be sure, ethnic tensions in Iraq, as there have been for decades. There are almost daily terrorist strikes against one sect or another. There has been plenty of political posturing on the part of the U.S.-appointed Iraqi Governing Council, whose members seem chronically unable to take any decision to advance democracy that would involve a reduction in their own power. All of those factors have led to the specter of social collapse either under America's watch or on July 1, when the U.S. hands over sovereignty.

Plainly, many powerful forces in Iraq have acted as if they were indifferent, at best, to the charms of democracy. Some still see government as rule by force rather than by vote. As early as May, 2003, militias were roaming the streets of Baghdad and other Iraqi cities, exacting revenge on members of the former regime and other political rivals. Security experts warned that Iraq's nascent political groups were spending just as much time forming armed militias and storing weapons in preparation for battle as they were in organizing popular support. Analysts warned that if Baghdad's power vacuum is not filled, the rise of organized armed factions could turn Iraq's capital into what one called "a 21st century version of 1980s Beirut."

One source with the Free Iraqi Fighters, the U.S.-led militia trained in the U.S. and Hungary that was instrumental in securing several Iraqi cities, made the point nicely. "What worries me," he said, "is that these guys are trying to steal first then deal with the politics later." The prospect of internal strife appeared to be-

come more likely after Mohammad Baqir al Hakim, head of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, was assassinated in a blast outside the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf in August. (More than 130 worshippers were killed at the same time.) But with the attacks in March on Shiite pilgrims who were commemorating the death of the 7th century Imam al-Hussein—which killed almost 180 people in Karbala and Baghdad—the whispers of possible civil war became on-the-record statements. "Everything has come to the fore now," insisted one adviser to Ahmed Chalabi, the head of the Iraqi National Congress. "This event was as traumatic and dangerous to the Shia as September 11, and people no longer want to be polite about matters."

Asked whether Iraq could become em-

broiled in a civil war if attacks by terrorist figures continue, the Pentagon's most senior commander in Iraq, General John Abizaid, replied: "I believe that there is always the chance that through the wrong steps of political leaders inside Iraq and the deliberate steps of people like [Jordanian-born terrorist leader] Zarqawi, groups like Ansar al-Islam and al Qaeda are trying to move the country toward civil war, and that it is possible." And Wright State University professor Liam Anderson, author of *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy or Division?*, announced that a civil war in Iraq is "more of a probability than possibility."

The only voices missing from this dire litany were those of ordinary Iraqis. In no small irony, the aftermath of each new terrorist strike has proved to be a cause



**BAGHDAD BOMB SITE: RECENT
TERRORIST ATTACKS HAVE LED
TO INCREASED CRITICISM OF THE
AMERICAN OCCUPATION**

After decades of war, Iraqis are loath to enter into battle with the same c



for optimism for Iraqis, not pessimism. That Iraq did not descend into ethnic conflict after Hakim's assassination last August was a testament to a nation desperate to keep things calm and to hold on to newfound liberties. That subsequent attacks haven't succeeded either underscores the hardening of Iraqi views that the main culprit for a lack of security is the U.S., which many hold liable for the infiltration of foreign terrorists into Iraq before and after the war. The continued stability is a credit to a nascent Iraqi leadership that is determined that the country will find a democratic future for itself.

Historically, it is worth remembering that Sunnis and Shias in Iraq have never waged all-out war against each other. And while Saddam Hussein brutally re-

pressed the Kurds in the 1980s, there has been no ethnic conflict between non-Kurd Iraqis and Kurds, save for the brewing tensions today in Kirkuk. After decades of war, Iraqis are loath to enter into battle with the same comrades with whom they fought the Iranians and later the Americans. But most important, almost every Iraqi citizen recognizes each terrorist attack for what it is—an effort to ignite a civil war. That leaves notable ground for optimism.

Iraqis went out of their way to show their unity before and after the March attacks. The morning of the attacks on March 3, banners hanging on the walls of Sunni mosques in Sunni-dominant Fallujah bore an unusual message of sectarian solidarity. "We stand with the Shia, and offer them our condolences in memory of

the killing of al-Hussein and his family," the banners read. When the blasts occurred, Sunni and Shia religious leaders quickly swung into action to prevent any possible violence. In the staunchly Sunni district of Adhamiyah, Sunnis at the Abu Hanifa mosque cooked food for passing Shia pilgrims, while other Sunnis lined up nearby to donate blood for the wounded. Sunni clerics joined their Shiite counterparts in calling on all Iraqis to consider themselves "Husseiniya," the living embodiment of the struggle and sacrifices that the Imam al-Hussein faced. The Sunni mosque banners quickly changed, announcing: "We condemn this act of terrorism that happened in Karbala and Kathimiya." Sheikh Qassem al-Jinabi, the imam of the Samarrai mosque in Fallujah, issued a statement saying: "Killing Muslims is *haram*, forbidden. We condemn this terrorist work, which seeks to make a sectarian war between Sunni and Shia. We ordered people in Fallujah to go to Baghdad to help the Shia, and hundreds have gone."

Rather than leading to ethnic strife, the terrorist attacks in March, if anything, led to increased criticism of the American occupation. The Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali al-Husseini al-Sistani, the highest Shia cleric, issued his harshest statement yet against the coalition, declaring the explosions to be "the work of the envious against Sunni and Shia." He warned all Muslims to avoid discord and commended the Sunnis on their aid, but blamed the blast on the Coalition forces for failing to protect Karbala and al-Kathimiya. A funeral procession the next day underscored Sistani's remarks, as marchers chanted: "Down with America, down with terrorism."

In late March, on the anniversary of the American-led invasion of Iraq, Shia and Sunni groups, seeking to emphasize their unity, marched together calling for an end to the occupation. Iraqis are united in a desire to build a new country for themselves, with new democratic institutions. Despite much provocation, they have set their face against civil war, while demanding their voices be heard in the reconstitution of their society. The path to democracy in Iraq will not be easy, but it is one that the great majority of Iraqis are ready to take. ■

Fattah is the Baghdad-based editor of the English-language weekly Iraq Today and a contributor to Time.

comrades with whom they fought the Iranians and later the Americans



KARZAI IN '04

The U.S. is eager to show the world that democracy can take hold in Afghanistan. On the other hand, everyone agrees Karzai must win the upcoming presidential poll

BY MIKE COLLETT-WHITE

In a shabby apartment in one of Kabul's run-down Soviet-built housing estates, Massouda Jalal offers tea and nuts to a pair of visitors. They are two middle-aged men from the volatile eastern provinces of Afghanistan who are interested in helping Jalal be-

come the next president of Afghanistan. They offer to make photocopies of her single-sheet manifesto and distribute the fliers in towns and villages near the Pakistan border. Although modest, their assistance is invaluable to the feisty 40-year-old who is contesting presidential elections scheduled to be held later this year. Jalal has no computer, no office, and no inter-

national assistance. Her husband provides for the family of five on his modest wages as a teacher.

"This is the only way I can get the pamphlets out there," she says, refusing to be bowed by the overwhelming odds stacked against her. "People are participating, they are doing this. I do not have the budget, so I ask people who come what



WOMEN'S LIBERATION, AFGHAN STYLE: DISPLAYING NEWLY ISSUED ELECTION CARDS IN KABUL

help they can offer. There are many who are taking an interest."

Relying on the generosity of others, Jalal, a former aid worker who stayed in Kabul throughout the Taliban era and had run-ins with the draconian Islamic militia, has traveled to Paktia and Jalalabad in the east, Herat in the west, and Logar and Kapisa near the capital. "All I have is my commitment and the resources of the people, my ideals, my love and others' encouragement," she says.

It would, she admitted, be a "miracle" if she were to win.

Just across town, in the Planning Ministry, Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq appears not to rate his chances much higher. Bearded and turbaned, the candidate, a member of an ethnic minority called the Hazaras, has yet to start collecting funds and has little to say in terms of his policies. He does let slip that supporters of President Hamid Karzai have been pressuring him not to run against the incum-

bent in the election, calling his bid "anti-nationalist." Just a few days after I talk to him he abruptly leaves the government, saying he has been sacked because of his presidential ambitions.

"They said I had resigned, and appointed somebody else," he says. "My removal is certainly linked to my announcement that I will be a presidential candidate. This is just the start. This will probably happen to others, too. There is a circle that wants to get hold of the country's vital arteries and purge others."

The "purge" is actually part of a broader tussle within Karzai's government between religiously moderate and Western-leaning members of the Pashtun clan, Afghanistan's largest ethnic group—and the one that includes the president—and former commanders of the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance, who are mostly Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara. Their dominance over ministries is gradually being stripped away. Although the Northern Alliance leaders were vital to the United States in routing the Taliban late in 2001, they have served their purpose and are being thrown on the political scrap heap.

Welcome to the new Afghan democracy. Like Iraq after it, Afghanistan is a place that the U.S. and its international allies freed from tyranny, putting in place a relatively benevolent government backed by international military forces. As soon as the Taliban were overthrown, the agenda was to create legitimate democratic institutions, including an elected president and Parliament and a free press. But achieving democracy on the ground has proved nettlesome. Many worry that any attempt at real elections would create chaos and violence among the warlords who still hold sway over much of the country. But elections will go ahead, perhaps as early as June.

The likely victor in the presidential vote is the Western-educated, debonair Karzai, the man who returned from exile to try to patch his troubled nation together. Behind him is a blatantly partial U.S., seeking to strike a balance between sowing the roots of democracy in a traumatized and impoverished nation and ensuring that their choice for the leadership is not seriously challenged.

But Karzai, who charms Western audiences with his wit and passion, remains a stranger to many of his people. The Americans are so concerned about his

safety that he rarely ventures out of the confines of his palace. When this was written in mid-March, he had not left Kabul for more than two months. And the palace itself is an unreal wonderland in a country still covered with the rubble of decades of war. Roses border grass lawns, lines of trees offer welcome shade, and freshly painted walls block out the sounds and smells of normal life. Getting into the sprawling compound is not easy. Journalists who attend press conferences and visits by foreign dignitaries are sometimes asked to turn up three hours in advance. Security checks by heavily armed private U.S. guards sporting beards, mirror shades, and baseball caps are rigorous and painstaking. When the weather allows briefings to be held outdoors, the unsmiling protectors peer from balconies and rooftops down the barrels of their guns, growling at cameramen who dare to point their lenses back.

Karzai might win a legitimate victory despite his isolation. Afghans for the most part are happier now than they were under the Taliban and will probably vote for him. "What will get Karzai through is a



KUNAR PROVINCE: U.S. SOLDIERS ASSIGNED TO A RECONSTRUCTION TEAM PASS OUT POSTERS

vote for stability, not a vote for Karzai," says Vikram Parekh, Afghan analyst at the Brussels-based International Crisis Group.

It is a bizarre situation for a country gearing up for its first-ever democratic vote. Karzai is bound to win, even though his U.S. State Dept. keepers will keep any campaigning to a minimum. Weak opponents will be encouraged by the international community to make the poll look genuine. For Karzai, a resounding victory at the polling stations will enhance his legitimacy, so often questioned at home and abroad by people who see him as a U.S.

puppet and as the “mayor of Kabul,” with little influence across the unruly provinces.

For the international community, keeping Karzai in power is a priority. Unfortunately, the U.S. and its allies are willing to truncate Afghanistan’s new democracy to make sure that Karzai or a moderate like him remains in power. Neither the Taliban nor any kind of rigid Islamic regime like it will be permitted to compete in an election—though such parties might garner large numbers of votes. The alternative to Taliban intolerance would be a commander or warlord brought up to fight against the Soviet Army and the Taliban, steeped in conservative Islamic beliefs and with hands covered in blood from widespread abuses. Internecine fighting between rival factions killed tens of thousands of Kabul residents in the early 1990s and reduced much of the city to rubble—devastation that is still visible.

Many Afghans also recognize that Karzai has a knack shared by few of his countrymen for impressing the international community, and getting it to cough up money. Afghanistan has said it needs \$30 billion in reconstruction aid and budget support over the next seven years.

With the U.S. firmly behind him and a name recognized by most of his people, Karzai looks certain to keep his crown. That has not been enough, however, to ease concerns among Afghans, diplomats and foreign troops over the electoral process. A brief look across the country, and the unease is hardly surprising.

About 600 people have been killed in violence since early August, as remnants of the Taliban and Islamic militant allies, including al Qaeda, seek to undermine the government and wage a *jihad*, or holy war, on foreign forces in the country. Much of the south and east remains off-limits for aid workers and foreigners, interrupting vital assistance missions and preventing reconstruction so important to bringing the country together.

The only major reconstruction undertaken since the Taliban’s ouster is the Kabul-Kandahar highway, a symbolic, U.S.-funded project. People along the route, used to endless hours of traveling along bumpy dirt tracks, laud its renovation, but Taliban and other militants continue to attack it, making life unsafe for the Turks, Indians, and Afghans subcon-

tracted by the U.S. construction firm overseeing the resurfacing.

Despite the danger, the election will proceed. Jean Arnault, the U.N. special representative for Afghanistan, said in February that 20,000 new police would be trained by June and would be available to protect the 4,200 polling stations that are being set up, staffed by 33,000 people. Registration of Afghanistan’s 10.5 million voters has been painfully slow, and as of the beginning of March only around one-quarter of those registered were women.

Preparing for the election would be a logistical problem of epic proportions in a safe environment. In a dangerous one, it is even harder. Western diplomats say the June date is unrealistic and expect an election as late as September. Even that would be a major achievement. In addition to the potential for militants to hijack the process, Afghanistan’s age-old ethnic divisions could be exposed, as they were during the constitutional Loya Jirga, or Grand Assembly, that mapped out a new national charter in January.

Karzai says the jirga, held in a giant tent on the outskirts of Kabul, brought his country closer together. Yet around 40% of the 500 or so delegates boycotted voting at one stage, underlining a rift between the majority Pashtuns and smaller ethnic groups like the Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras, who fear they are being sidelined. Only after much delay and huge behind-the-scenes arm-twisting from U.S. ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad and then-U.N. envoy Lakhdar Brahimi was the constitution adopted.

“Now he [Karzai] is being seen by influential people in the north as someone backing Pashtun hegemony,” says the ICG’s Parekh. “The distrust between the communities is real, and everything is swept under the rug with rhetoric that ‘We are brothers.’ An abysmally low turnout from the north could make a difference.”

Another stark truth facing Karzai and

his government is that the presidential election is likely to be considerably easier to stage than the parliamentary one. The constitution says every effort should be made to hold them simultaneously, but Afghan officials concede that one poll at a time will be hard enough. The parliamentary vote is far more complex than a choice among,

say, four or five individuals. It requires the existence of political parties. And the only groups with even a semblance of structure are the *jihadi* movements led by religious conservatives who fought the Soviets and who include notorious warlords in their ranks, and, ironically, the Communists. A parliamentary election could be held next year, but that leaves little time for parties to form, leaders to emerge, electoral boundaries to be set, and voters to be reached and educated.

The concept of national elections is foreign to many Afghans, who are used to being ruled by local councils of elders, or, on special occasions, national jirgas. “I don’t know why I have to have this registration card,” said Imanuddin, a 25-year-old from the central Bamiyan province, as he waited to collect a small ID card at a registration center in the capital. When the concept of choosing a leader was explained to him, the young man in a skull cap said he would vote for Mohammad Qasim Fahim, the Defense Minister many see as a sinister rival to Karzai. Fahim is not expected to be a candidate.

The implications of Afghanistan’s first real experiment with democracy go far beyond its borders. George W. Bush would dearly love a foreign policy success before the U.S. election in November. Catching al Qaeda mastermind Osama bin Laden along the Afghan-Pakistan border would also greatly enhance his position. “This is a test as much for the United States as it is for Afghanistan, especially as failure could scupper plans in Iraq,” said a Western diplomat in Kabul.

The stakes are high. America does not have a Plan B. So the election, however flawed, will go ahead. And from Washington’s point of view, when it’s over the tens of millions of dollars laid out to protect Karzai, the probable winner, will look like money well spent.

Collett-White is deputy bureau chief for Reuters in Afghanistan/Pakistan.



A KNACK FOR ATTRACTING AID: KARZAI (SECOND FROM LEFT) REVIEWS ROAD CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS



A MOMENT IN TIME

AP Pulitzer Prize winning photographer Jean-Marc Bouju spent nine weeks in Iraq last year as part of the AP team of journalists chronicling the conflict from its tumultuous prelude to a still-active insurgency.

In March 2003, while visiting a POW center near Najaf, Bouju heard a child crying and captured this image of a man and his four-year-old son. They were imprisoned together because the child had been alongside his father when the arrest was made.

The boy, Bouju said, was panicking and crying and a sympathetic U.S. soldier cut off the plastic handcuffs so the father could comfort his son.

"My little girl was four at the time and I couldn't help thinking what she would have thought in the same situation," Bouju said.

The photograph, which ran in hundreds of newspapers worldwide, won top prize from among 63,000 entries at this year's World Press Photo of the Year Awards.

More than a year after this photo was taken, the AP team in Iraq continues to provide essential coverage of events as they unfold, including photos that you won't find anywhere else.

AP, the essential global news network.

AP Associated Press
www.ap.org



WRONG TURNS IN

BY ALEX RODRIGUEZ

Ask Russians what's wrong with their country, and they'll tell you Russia needs to regain its superpower prowess. It's a sentiment not lost on Russian President Vladimir V. Putin, who, just three weeks before his March 14 reelection to a second term, made sure camera crews were on hand to televise military exercises that would become Russia's biggest show of force in 20 years.

Then something happened that veered from the script. With Putin, bedecked in full naval garb and watching from the deck of the nuclear submarine Arkhangelsk, a ballistic missile aboard the sister Novomoskovsk nuclear sub got stuck in its firing shaft and was never launched. In a matter of minutes, the campaign coup was becoming a public-relations disaster.

By the time footage from the day's events was aired on Russia's evening newscasts, however, the embarrassing failure had suddenly vanished. Most Russian television channels are either directly or indirectly state-owned, and none of them mentioned the missile problem. Russian television viewers only saw a smiling Putin aboard the Arkhangelsk, shaking hands with sailors and exchanging gifts. The next day, independent newspapers reported the missile failure. They also reported the navy chief commander's strange denial of the event: The launch was merely a simulation, he said; everything had gone as planned.

The next day, another missile launched from the nuclear submarine Karelia veered from its trajectory 98 seconds into its flight and self-destructed. Again, Russian newscasts ignored the event.

More than a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian media continue to be tightly leashed, yanked into step whenever the Kremlin senses trouble—or whenever elections are around the corner. In the runup to the recent presidential election, most Russian newscasts began, Soviet-style, with long, fawning segments on President Putin's meetings with foreign dignitaries, or with Putin listening intently to a cabinet minister's report. Two state channels, RTR and Channel One, broadcast in its entirety a 29-minute speech Putin gave on Feb. 12

PUTIN'S DAY: A SOLDIER ENTERS A VOTING BOOTH IN MOSCOW ON MARCH 14

RUSSIA

Muzzling the media, jailing an oligarch, fawning over President Putin—the signs are not encouraging

to kick off his presidential campaign, even though commandeering the airwaves for campaign purposes is a violation of the equal-time provisions in Russia's election laws. Putin's challengers cried foul. Even the country's elections chief, Alexander Veshnyakov, a Putin loyalist, was taken aback and said he would investigate. A week later, Veshnyakov backed off, saying Putin's remarks should be construed as a presidential address, not a campaign speech.

In the speech, Putin called the decision Russians made collectively in 1991 to choose democracy over authoritarian rule "a great and real achievement of the Russian people." In the last year, however, Putin has been increasingly accused of steering the country away from democracy. The methodical attack on Russia's largest oil company and most transparent enterprise, Yukos Oil, is the starkest example of this. Seen as a political threat by the Kremlin, the company's billionaire chief executive, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, was jailed on tax evasion and fraud charges. The government then froze more than 40% of the company's stock, revoked its license to explore an important oil field, and put 10 major Yukos shareholders who fled the country on Russia's wanted list. The onslaught of charges, probes, and audits led to the collapse of the company's merger with another Russian oil major.

Liberal Russian politicians, business analysts, and the U.S. government have harshly criticized the investigation into Khodorkovsky and his company, in part because Khodorkovsky's reforms made Yukos a symbol of transparency and sound corporate governance. However, Khodorkovsky also belonged to the elite band of oligarchs who made their wealth on the backs of impoverished Russians during the chaotic privatizations of the mid-1990s. Finessing their way into then-President Boris Yeltsin's inner circle, they benefited from rigged auctions in which Russia's vast natural resources were sold off at giveaway prices.

But by 2000 Khodorkovsky began mak-

ing amends. He released the company's financial records, paid out dividends, and repaid customers of his bank, Menatep, who lost deposits in the 1998 crisis. He also turned Yukos into a model of corporate citizenship—Yukos has set aside more than \$100 million annually for higher education

and other philanthropic projects.

But then Khodorkovsky made a fatal mistake. Early last year he began ignoring the accord Putin had reached with the oligarchs after the presidential election in 2000. The president would let them keep their sometimes ill-gotten gains if they would stay out of politics. Khodorkovsky began openly financing liberal opposition parties. Rumors of his interest in a 2008 presidential run began to circulate. His lobbying also stymied legislation Putin had been trying to push through Parliament that would have clipped the power and profits of Russia's oil majors.

Khodorkovsky's subsequent arrest made a twisted kind of political sense. The Kremlin was gearing up for parliamentary elections as well as for Putin's reelection bid. The vast majority of Russians still despise the oligarchs, and the arrest of one of them was sure to play well with voters. The authorities wouldn't be jailing a martyr, they would be giving Russia's wealthiest man his comeuppance. "I don't give a damn what happens to him," Alexei Zharin, 21, a truck driver from Moscow, told me last fall. "The origin of his wealth is unfair, and in no way did he deserve his money. He's an enemy of the country—it's as simple as that."

Not that Putin needs a great deal of help boosting his popularity with the Russian electorate. The president already enjoys approval ratings that approach 80%, and he won reelection in a landslide. To many Russians, Vladimir Putin isn't simply someone to vote for, he's someone to revere. A man in Omsk changed his surname to Putin. A bar in the Siberian city of Chelyabinsk has renamed itself the Putin Bar. There's even a pop song called *Someone Like Putin*, which enjoyed blanket airplay on Russia's radio stations last year. The girl in the song has just dumped her drug-addled, no-good boyfriend, and now she wants:

*Someone like Putin, full of strength.
Someone like Putin, who doesn't drink.
Someone like Putin, who doesn't hurt me.
Someone like Putin, who won't leave me.*



THE KREMLIN SPEAKS: ONCE KHODORKOVSKY (LEFT) BECAME A POLITICAL THREAT, HE LANDED IN JAIL; KADYROV IS MOSCOW'S MAN IN CHECHNYA



THE ARKHANGELSK: RUSSIAN MEDIA SHOWED PUTIN PARADING ON THE DECK OF THE NUCLEAR SUB BUT FAILED TO REPORT THE MISFIRING OF A MISSILE



ALL PUTIN, ALL THE TIME: A CULT OF PERSONALITY THAT IS EERILY REMINISCENT OF THE STALIN ERA HAS EMERGED IN RUSSIA

More than one-third of the world's population has no access to a free press.

There are 193 journalists currently imprisoned around the world for simply doing their jobs.

In 2003, 36 journalists were killed in action.

Journalists are witnesses to our world. Please support the Overseas Press Club and other press freedom groups in their campaigns to defend journalists and uphold human rights.

www.opcofamerica.org



It's a cult of personality eerily reminiscent of the Stalin era. Yet with all that adulation, the Kremlin and Putin's party, United Russia, still find it necessary to resort to political sleight of hand whenever a goal or aim is even slightly jeopardized. Last October, authorities in war-torn Chechnya announced that the Chechens had elected as their new president Akhmad Kadyrov, the Kremlin's hand-picked man for the job. There were other names on the ballot, but the race had been decided long before Chechens went to the polls. Anyone who had a ghost of a chance of challenging Kadyrov was forced out of the race. One serious competitor, Chechen businessman Malik Saidullayev, stayed in the race despite brutish attempts at scaring him off. According to Saidullayev, gunmen identified as belonging to Kadyrov's security force shot and killed the son of one of his campaign workers in Grozny, Chechnya's capital. The next day gunmen kidnapped another Saidullayev campaign worker. Kadyrov denied his security force was involved in either incident. Saidullayev, for his part, wouldn't back down. So a Chechen court simply threw him off the ballot on a technicality.

On election day, trickles of voters queued up to the polls. Chechnya is still a tattered war zone where skirmishes between separatist guerrillas and Russian soldiers break out daily, and where children walking to school are told by their mothers to walk on this path, not that one, because that one is mined. Nevertheless, Chechen election officials boasted that 87% of Chechens had turned out to vote—an impossible figure for correspondents and human-rights observers to swallow. And though preelection polls consistently put Kadyrov's approval rating with Chechens at a dismal 13%, officials proudly announced that he garnered 81% of the vote.

Then there was the parliamentary election in December, widely criticized as skewed by authorities to ensure the dominance of United Russia. Election coverage on state television channels put United Russia on a pedestal but tore into the

Communist Party, which was the government's only serious competition. Opposition candidates seen as a threat were kept off the ballot on laughably minuscule technicalities. Russia's former top prosecutor, Yuri Skuratov, a Communist Party candidate, was thrown off because he did not mention in nominating papers that he had a second job as a university professor. Anatoly Bykov, an independent poised to beat a United Russia candidate in Krasnoyarsk, had his candidacy rejected because of a trivial bureaucratic snafu on his passport. In a harshly critical report, monitors observing the Dec. 7 election for the Organization for Security & Cooperation in Europe concluded that de-

December.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the leader of the ultranationalist and misnamed Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, provided a disturbing window into the thinking of those in the nationalist movement when he spoke at a December press conference about Chechen suicide bombers. "A suicide bomber has already condemned himself to death," Zhirinovsky said. "The criminal code for him is useless. He can only be stopped by killing his family—his father, mother, brothers and sisters. Then he will stop."

Since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the U.S., the Bush administration has been careful about weighing in on Russia's internal dramas, largely because it places a premium on the Kremlin as an ally in the war against terrorism. However, in recent months U.S. officials have grown increasingly concerned about the Kremlin's abandonment of democratic principles and its gravitation toward authoritarian rule. During U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell's recent visit with Putin and Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, the Russian newspaper *Izvestia* published an op-ed piece from Powell on its front page. He wrote: "The democr-

ic system in Russia, it seems to us, hasn't yet found the necessary balance between the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of power. Political power isn't yet based on the rule of law. Key aspects of civil society such as freedom of the press and freedom of political parties are not yet stable in Russia."

The Kremlin's reply was dismissive—the United States and the rest of the world can stop worrying, Russia remains committed to democratic reforms and a market economy. "This was the main signal sent to Washington," Ivanov wrote in a Feb. 13 article for the Russian daily *Kommersant*. Reassuring words, but events over the last year seem to contradict them at every turn.

Rodriguez is Moscow bureau chief for the Chicago Tribune. His beat includes Russia and the former Soviet republics.



A COLD DAY FOR DEMOCRACY: CASTING A PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN DEREBSKY, A VILLAGE 45 KILOMETERS WEST OF SMOLENSK

mocratic principles were "severely compromised."

The failure of the public to protest against anti-democratic outrages has led some to ask: Do Russians really yearn for democracy? The country's liberal, Western-oriented community certainly does, but that bloc is rapidly shrinking. The country's two major liberal parties, Yabloko and the Union of Right Forces, failed to muster the minimum 5% of voter support required to remain in Parliament. Neither party had a candidate in the March presidential contest, though liberal Irina Khakamada, a longtime Union of Right Forces fixture, ran as an independent. And as the liberal movement fizzles, the country's nationalist parties are moving in. Brandishing slogans like

"Russia is for Russians," nationalist parties gained a strong foothold in Parliament in

SONY CORPORATION OF AMERICA

IS PROUD TO SUPPORT

THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA.

SONY



Which is more infectious?

The organism?

Or the fear?

Join the conversation.

THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA ANNUAL AWARDS

By Cait Murphy, Jane Ciabattari, and William J. Holstein, Awards Committee Co-Chairs

THE IRAQ WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH DOMINATED THE headlines in 2003 and, not surprisingly, this year's Overseas Press Club Awards competition. • The OPC received a record number of entries—545 in all, nearly 100 more than last year. More than 70 judges, serving on 21 judging panels, conferred for many hours to select the winners. • About a third of the winning entries dealt with Iraq. Our judges were impressed with the resourcefulness and depth displayed by the journalists, who in many cases risked their lives to tell the story. • We also

had winning entries dealing with the wars in the Congo and Liberia and the aftermath of carnage in Sierra Leone, bringing conflicts in Africa into sharp focus. Reports on the Parmalat and Crédit Lyonnais scandals, and failed economic reforms in Mexico, were standouts in business news. • We also honor two

books that are invaluable documents of the past—one a photographic look from inside China's Cultural Revolution, and the other an examination of the final days of the Cold War, focusing on the last days of the CIA-KGB intelligence wars.



BAGHDAD: A FAMILY LEARNS OF RELATIVES' DEATHS



THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL

CAROLYN COLE

LOS ANGELES TIMES STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER COLE WINS THE CAPA GOLD MEDAL FOR THE SECOND STRAIGHT YEAR. THIS TIME SHE EARNED THE AWARD, FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC REPORTING REQUIRING EXCEPTIONAL COURAGE, BY CAPTURING ON FILM THE GRITTY REALITY AND HUMAN DRAMA OF WAR IN BOTH IRAQ AND LIBERIA.





CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: A GOVERNMENT SOLDIER DEFENDS A BRIDGE IN MONROVIA; A U.S. MARINE RECEIVES A KISS AS IRAQIS CELEBRATE THE ARRIVAL OF U.S. TROOPS IN BAGHDAD'S FIRDOS SQUARE; BULLET CASINGS CARPET A STREET IN MONROVIA; U.S. SOLDIERS CONFRONT TWO IRAQI MEN AT A MINISTRY BUILDING IN BAGHDAD THAT WAS THE SCENE OF HEAVY LOOTING



FEATURE PHOTOGRAPHY AWARD

ALEX MAJOLI

MAGNUM PHOTOGRAPHER MAJOLI TOOK THESE COMPELLING IMAGES OF A SOCIETY IN DISORDER DURING A TRIP TO THE KIVU REGION OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO. THE CONGO IS RICH IN MINERALS—ITS EASTERN REGION IS A MAJOR SOURCE OF COLTAN, AN ORE THAT IS A VITAL ELEMENT IN CELL PHONES, LAPTOP COMPUTERS, AND OTHER ELECTRONIC DEVICES—BUT TORN BY A STRUGGLE FOR POWER AMONG CONGOLESE AND FOREIGN FORCES EAGER TO CONTROL THE RESOURCES. TO DATE, MORE THAN 3 MILLION ARE SAID TO HAVE DIED IN THE CONFLICT, MAINLY OF DISEASE. CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE: MINING FOR COLTAN IN RUBAYA; CONGOLESE REFUGEES BOUND FOR RWANDA; SELLING COLTAN IN RUBAYA; MINERS HEAD FOR MUSAKI, AN IMPORTANT CROSSROAD IN KIVU









THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

YURI KOZYREV

RUSSIAN PHOTOGRAPHER KOZYREV, ON ASSIGNMENT FOR *TIME*, BEGAN COVERING IRAQ WELL BEFORE THE U.S. INVASION IN MARCH, 2003, AND HIS INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE SHOWS. THESE ARRESTING IMAGES WERE TAKEN IN BAGHDAD IN THE WEEKS AFTER THE WAR BEGAN. CLOCKWISE FROM BELOW: A BOY STARES AT A WARDROBE DOOR LOOTED BY HIS FATHER FROM THE VILLA OF SADDAM HUSSEIN'S STEP-BROTHER; A TRIBAL CHIEF ARRIVES IN BAGHDAD TO GET INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO CARRY OUT THE GUERRILLA WAR IN THE PROVINCES; A BADLY BURNED AND MUTILATED IRAQI BOY IS TENDED TO BY AN AUNT IN A BAGHDAD HOSPITAL AFTER AN EXPLOSION STRUCK HIS HOME, KILLING ALL OF HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY



THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

LI ZHENSHENG & ROBERT PLEDGE

LI ZHENSHENG TOOK THOUSANDS OF PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE HEIGHT OF CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION, BUT UNLIKE MANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES HE NEVER ALLOWED THE NEGATIVES TO BE DESTROYED. NOW, THANKS TO THE IMAGES THAT LI AND HIS EDITOR, ROBERT PLEDGE, PRESIDENT OF CONTACT PRESS IMAGES, COMPILED IN THE BOOK *RED COLOR NEWS SOLDIER* (PHAIDON PRESS, 2003), THE WORLD HAS A CLEARER VIEW OF THE TURMOIL THAT TURNED CHINESE SOCIETY UPSIDE DOWN. COUNTERCLOCKWISE FROM BELOW: A 5-YEAR-OLD PRODIGY PERFORMS A "LOYALTY DANCE" IN HARBIN'S RED GUARD SQUARE IN APRIL, 1968; TOP PARTY OFFICIALS ARE DENOUNCED DURING A RALLY IN HARBIN IN AUGUST, 1966; PREPARING TO EXECUTE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF HARBIN IN APRIL, 1968





THE JOHN FABER AWARD

CHRIS HONDROS

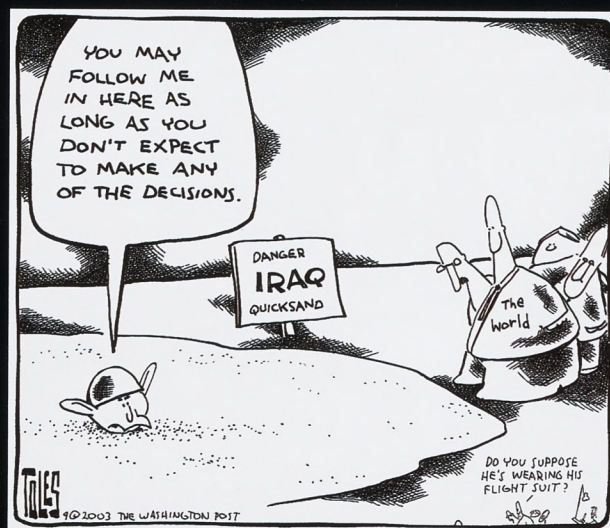
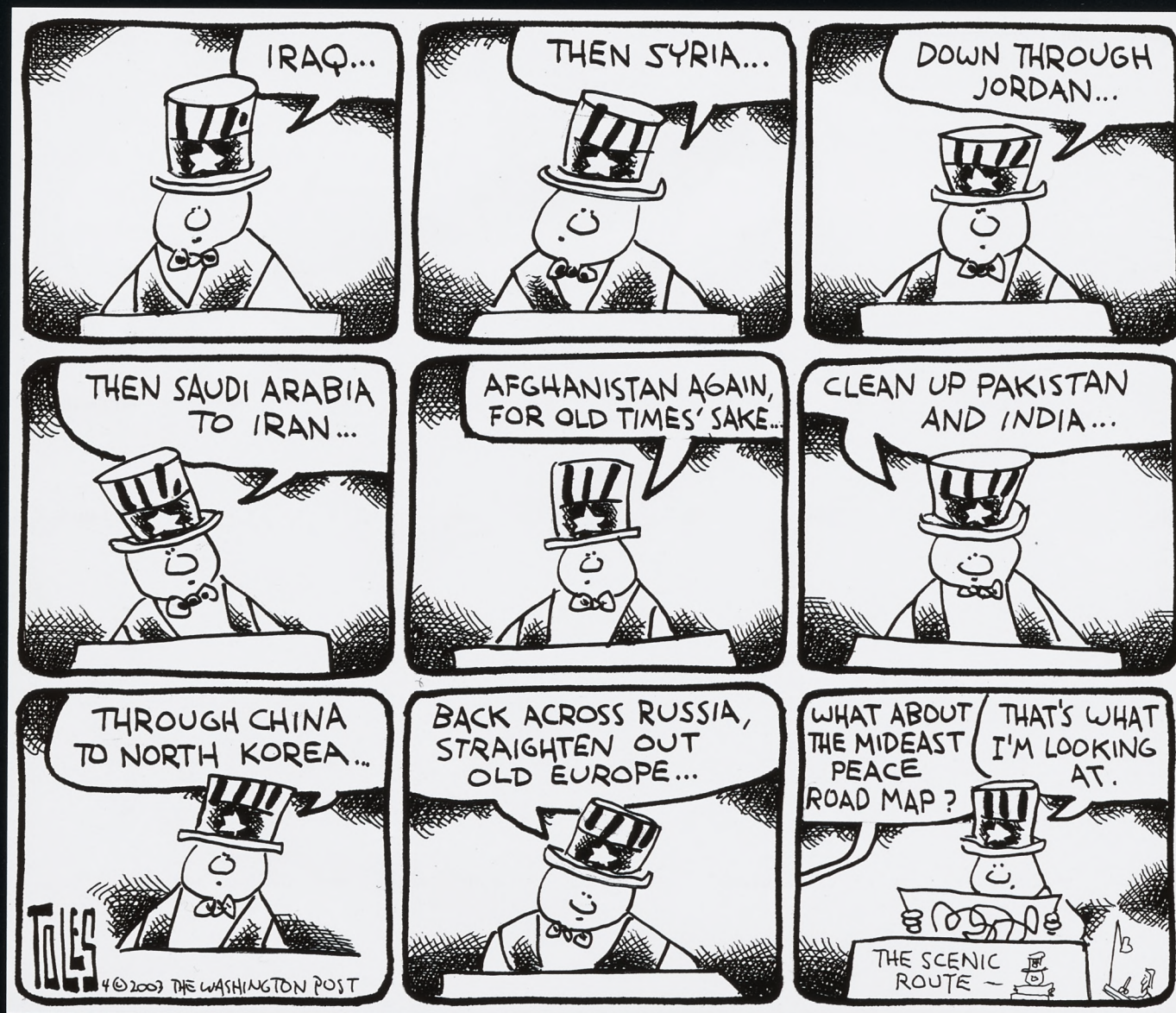
HONDROS, A STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER FOR GETTY IMAGES NEWS SERVICE, BROUGHT INTO FOCUS THE MAYHEM IN THE STREETS OF MONROVIA AS REBEL FORCES FOUGHT TO OUST EMBATTLED PRESIDENT CHARLES TAYLOR. HIS PHOTOS RAN ON THE FRONT PAGES OF MAJOR NEWSPAPERS IN THE SUMMER OF 2003. WHILE THE U.S. WEIGHED THE PROS AND CONS OF INTERVENTION, CHAOS REIGNED IN LIBERIA'S CAPITAL, AND CIVILIAN DEATHS QUICKLY MOUNTED. CLOCKWISE FROM RIGHT: A CHILD'S BODY MINUTES AFTER A MORTAR ATTACK IN MONROVIA; A GOVERNMENT LOYALIST COMMANDER ORDERS A SOLDIER TO STOP GRIEVING FOR A FALLEN COMRADE; A LOYALIST SOLDIER IN THE MIDST OF BATTLE; A MILITIA COMMANDER LOYAL TO THE GOVERNMENT EXULTS AFTER FIRING ON THE REBELS





THOMAS NAST AWARD

TOM TOLES



KEVIN KALLAUGHER & MICHAEL RAMIREZ



**Nissan is proud to
support the efforts of the
Overseas Press Club and
applauds those who
endure hardships to
report the truth.**



www.NissanUSA.com



INFINITI®

www.infiniti.com

1. THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

ANTHONY SHADID

The Washington Post

"The Soul of Iraq: From War to Resistance and Rebirth"

Anthony Shadid stayed behind in Baghdad as the Iraq war began. His 24 page-one stories during the conflict depicted the horror and complexity in a way few others could match. Among the first to spot the armed insurgency against U.S. forces, he wrote about a father executing a son accused of helping the Americans. He saw the Sunni uprising as the greatest postwar challenge. In all, Shadid wrote more than 90 page-one stories through the year, exhibiting extraordinary depth and resourcefulness.

CITATIONS:

Dan Murphy

The Christian Science Monitor
"How Al Qaeda Lit the Bali Fuse"

David Zucchini

Los Angeles Times
"Thunder in Iraq"

The Wall Street Journal Staff

The Wall Street Journal
"SARS: A Killer's Global Reach"

2. THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service interpretation of international affairs

JOBY WARRICK

The Washington Post

"Weapons Proliferation and the Gray Zone"

Joby Warrick's chilling series of articles reveals in grim detail the extent of the illicit global trade in nuclear and biological weapons. The articles are even more relevant given the recent disclosure of Pakistan's nuclear weapons technology sales and Libya's move to end its own weapons program.

CITATIONS:

The Boston Globe Staff

The Boston Globe
"Lives Lost: Global Health Crisis"

Steven Lee Myers

The New York Times
"In the Field: Third Infantry Division"



SHADID



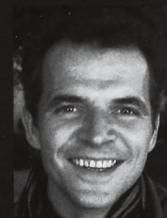
WARRICK



COLE



ZHENGSHENG
AND PLEDGE



KOZYREV

3. THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL

Best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

CAROLYN COLE

Los Angeles Times

"Covering Conflict: Iraq and Liberia"

For the second year in a row, Cole has won the Capa Gold Medal, this time for coverage of the wars in Iraq and Liberia. Her photographs are about the human tragedy of war—heart-wrenching, visceral, and horrific.

CITATIONS:

Christopher Anderson

VII for *U.S. News & World Report*
"The Road to Baghdad"

Gary Knight

VII for *Newsweek*
"The Battle for Diyala Bridge"

4. THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Best photographic reporting from abroad in magazines and books

LI ZHENGSHENG and ROBERT PLEDGE

Contact Press Images/Phaidon

Red-Color News Soldier: A Chinese Photographer's Odyssey Through the Cultural Revolution

This extraordinary visual record of the Cultural Revolution was photographed and preserved at great personal risk. The book is an invaluable historical document that vividly details the chilling events of those tumultuous years.

YURI KOZYREV

Time

"The Iraq War"

The judges felt Kozyrev's work was the most compelling and comprehensive coverage of events before, during, and after the war in Iraq. Focusing on the plight of the Iraqi people, Kozyrev combined powerful content with stunning composition to create truly iconic images of the Iraq war.

CITATION:

Teru Kuwayama

Corbis for *Outside*
"High Altitude Warfare on Siachen Glacier"

5. THE JOHN FABER AWARD

Best photographic reporting from abroad in newspapers and wire services

CHRIS HONDROS

Getty Images News Service

"Chaos Enveloping:
Liberia's Deadly Summer"

As one of the few who stayed behind to document Monrovia's descent into total chaos as the rebel forces took over the capital, Hondros created graphic images that put you right at the heart of the struggle. The lawlessness and brutality are pervasive and relentless and are captured with great skill under the most harrowing conditions.

CITATION:

The New York Times Photographers
The New York Times
"The War in Iraq"

6. FEATURE PHOTOGRAPHY AWARD

Best feature photography published in any medium on an international theme

ALEX MAJOLI

Magnum Photos for *Newsweek*

"Wars Without End: The Congo"

These beautifully composed black-and-white pictures of the strife in the Congo are a poignant and powerful reminder that we must not forget the terrible human toll resulting from the civil wars that are ravaging so many African nations.

CITATIONS:

Rodrigo Abd
Associated Press
"Guatemala Gangs"

Jahi Chikwendiu
The Washington Post
"Karbala Jail"



HONDROS



MAJOLI



SHARP



ROBERTSON



BRONSTEIN



DAVIE

7. THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Best radio news or interpretation of international affairs

JEB SHARP

PRI's *The World*: BBC World Service,
Public Radio International,
WGBH Radio Boston

"Iraq History Series"

The series is a well-rounded, solid piece of analytical reporting on Iraq of the sort often missing from mainstream media. It provides context, insight, and interesting interviews in a fascinating history lesson, told with impartiality and without sensationalism.

CITATION:

Susan Burton and Hyder Akbar
WBEZ—Chicago Public Radio
"This American Life: Teenage Embed"

8. THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Best TV spot news reporting from abroad

NIC ROBERTSON

CNN

"Anatomy of a Raid"

Iraq was the story in 2003, and many good journalists were in the field. CNN's Nic Robertson got inside access to the planning and execution of an American raid. His piece captures the psychology of Iraq today and of the Americans and Iraqis who misunderstand each other, despite good intentions. It fairly portrays anxiety among the Americans and fear and anger among the Iraqis. The result of much preparation and thoughtful work in the field, the 11-minute piece is brisk yet displays intimacy and depth.

CITATION:

Mike Cerre
ABC News—*Nightline*
"Marine Unit Fox 2-5"

9. THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

*Best TV interpretation or documentary
on international affairs*

**SCOTT BRONSTEIN, MICHAEL
DAVIE, NEIL BARRETT,
DAVID ROYLE**

National Geographic Television and Film
Ultimate Explorer for MSNBC

"Liberia: American Dream?"

In a year when the war in Iraq dominated the headlines, the judges found the National Geographic team's piece on Liberia riveting. From its on-the-ground reporting of this devastating war to its insightful interviews with child soldiers, "Liberia: American Dream" was a story the judges couldn't stop watching. At great personal risk, the team put the audience on the front lines of the war with vivid reporting on soldiers, victims, heroes, and villains. The team skillfully wove context into the story and gave viewers a unique perspective of America from a nation that sees the U.S. as the world's great hope.

CITATION:

Maria Ressa and Ken Shiffman
CNN Presents
"Seeds of Terror"

10. THE ED CUNNINGHAM AWARD

Best magazine reporting from abroad

GEORGE PACKER

The New Yorker

"War After the War"

In a year of remarkably rich entries, many worthy of prizes, Packer's piece stood out for the subtle way it illuminated the challenges that emerged in Iraq last year. He brings a novelist's skill and a rare empathy to his portrait of a country in crisis.

CITATIONS:

Brian Bennett, Michael Ware,
Michael Weisskopf
Time
"Reports from Iraq"

Tom O'Neill
National Geographic
"Untouchable"



BARRETT



ROYLE



PACKER



TOLES



MCCLINTICK

11. THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Best cartoons on international affairs

TOM TOLES

The Washington Post

Here's a typical scene from Toles's world: George Bush directs a stage play called "The Rebuilding of Iraq," and the U.N. gets to play the part of a tree. The tree is "a vital role," says Bush from his director's chair, "especially when we get to the sawmill scene." Toles's drawings are deceptively simple and his humor is wickedly sharp. Whether he is lampooning the U.S. president or Saudi sheikhs, Ariel Sharon or Yasir Arafat, he hits just the right nerve.

CITATIONS:

Kevin (KAL) Kallaugher
The Baltimore Sun

Michael Ramirez
Los Angeles Times

12. THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

*Best business reporting from abroad
in magazines*

DAVID MCCLINTICK

Institutional Investor

"Inside the Crédit Lyonnais Scandal"

McClintick's dogged reporting of the scandal at Crédit Lyonnais brought clarity to an important subject—international bank fraud on a massive scale. He produced a tale illuminating the machinations of one of the world's biggest banks as well as the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of the French and U.S. governments. His documentation of the Crédit Lyonnais fraud illustrates the wrongdoing at the bank and the underside of the politics of international prosecution.

CITATION:

Pete Engardio, Manjeet Kripalani,
Aaron Bernstein
BusinessWeek
"Is Your Job Next?" and
"The Rise of India"

13. THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in newspapers or wire services

ALESSANDRA GALLONI, CARRICK MOLLENKAMP, DAVID REILLY

The Wall Street Journal

"Spilled Milk: The Fall of Parmalat"

The first hint of the crimes that led to the collapse of the giant Italian dairy company astonished the business world. Just three days later, *The Wall Street Journal* covered the complex story with a depth and clarity its competitors were still struggling to match several months later. In little more than a week, the *Journal's* coverage exposed many details of a massive but amazingly crude fraud that may total \$10 billion, as well as the human drama as Calisto Tanzi's family-controlled empire fell apart. In a model collaborative effort, staffers around the world filled out the core team's coverage.

CITATION:

Joseph Kahn

The New York Times
"The World's Sweatshop"

14. THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Best nonfiction book on international affairs

MILT BEARDEN AND JAMES RISEN

Random House

The Main Enemy: The Inside Story of the CIA's Final Showdown with the KGB

Bearden and Risen have written a revealing and disturbing insider's account of the final stages of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. intelligence wars. This collaboration between a veteran of the CIA and *The New York Times's* national-security correspondent sheds new light on the life-and-death competition between Washington and the Kremlin as it played out against the backdrop of the Soviet empire's collapse. It also offers timely insights into the value of and ongoing need for reliable intelligence data.

CITATION:

Lynne Olson and Stanley Cloud

Alfred A. Knopf
A Question of Honor: The Kosciuszko Squadron



GALLONI



MOLLENKAMP



REILLY



BEARDEN



RISEN



OBAID



NAQVI

15. THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Best international reporting in the print medium showing a concern for the human condition

GEORGE PACKER

The New Yorker

"The Children of Freetown"

Packer's investigation of the children of Freetown, which tracks Sierra Leonean amputees from the special rehabilitation facility set up for them in Staten Island, N.Y., back to Freetown, is a sensitive and evocative depiction of the dilemmas faced by all the parties involved in the effort. It brings out the complex motivations and misunderstanding of victims and would-be helpers alike against a background of horror, contrasting the assumptions of Americans with the realities of life in Sierra Leone.

CITATION:

Sheri Fink, MD

PublicAffairs

"War Hospital: A True Story of Surgery and Survival"

16. THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Best international reporting in the broadcast media showing a concern for the human condition

SHARMEEN OBAID, MOHAMMED NAQVI, JAY KEUPER

Discovery Times Channel

"Terror's Children"

An eye-opening documentary about the plight of Afghan refugee children living in Pakistan, "Terror's Children" was made by a young Pakistani journalist who decided to explore a problem right in her own backyard. Her months of reporting in refugee camps, garbage dumps, and local *madrassas*—places most Western journalists either can't go or don't go to—yielded vivid footage and gripping interviews with children caught up in desperate conditions. Obaid's compassion for her subjects made this a unanimous choice.

CITATION:

The Oprah Winfrey Show

Harpo Productions

"Christmas Kindness"

17. THE JOE & LAURIE DINE AWARD

Best international reporting in a print medium dealing with human rights

DANIEL BERGNER

Farrar, Straus and Giroux

*In the Land of Magic Soldiers:
A Story of White and Black in West Africa*

In a category rich with drama around the world, this slim, powerful book stands out. It describes Bergner's travels to Sierra Leone, a country ravaged for a decade by vicious civil war and ethnic slaughter, a country deemed "the worst on earth" by the U.N. His story is savage and depressing—both sides punish enemies with machete amputations, for example—and the situation seems hopeless. But Bergner carefully records the optimism of a few politicians who believe their country will thrive someday and the faith of missionaries that God will show the way. This vivid book reads like a novel, but every horrifying word is true.

CITATIONS:

Samantha Power

The New Yorker
"The AIDS Rebel"

Cam Simpson, Flynn McRoberts, Liz Sly

Chicago Tribune
"Tossed Out of America"

18. THE ERIC & AMY BURGER AWARD

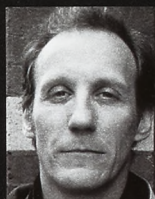
Best international reporting in the broadcast media dealing with human rights

**LIVIU TIPURITA, ANDREW SMITH,
JENNIFER HYDE, DAVID HENSHAW,
SID BEDINGFIELD**

CNN Productions/Hardcash Productions

"Easy Prey: Inside the Child Sex Trade"

"Easy Prey" is an unflinching exposé of the child sex trafficking in Romania that extends across Europe. It is a topic that is easy to sensationalize and hard to report with intelligence and sensitivity. The probe shows the harsh lives of Romania's youth and their vulnerability to Western sex predators, documenting the high-tech trafficking of children through Web sites and even parents who prostitute their own children. Tipurita and Smith won the trust of their young subjects, turned the spotlight on those who sought to exploit them, followed the trafficking chain to Milan, and even prompted the arrest of a trafficker in Britain.



KEUPER



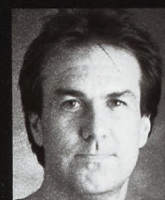
BERGNER



TIPURITA



SMITH



COLLIE



STOCKER



FERRISS

19. THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on international environmental issues

TIM COLLIE AND MIKE STOCKER

South Florida Sun-Sentinel

"Haiti: The Eroding Nation"

Collie and Stocker's work on Haiti for the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* was outstanding. The writing was clear, dramatic, and original. The photographs were astonishing and the presentation electric. In addition to cataloging the problem, the entry went some way to prescribing solutions, which the panel saw as an effective use of environmental writing.

CITATIONS:

Ann Imse

Rocky Mountain News
"Russia's Rocky Flats"

Tom Knudson

The Sacramento Bee
"State of Denial"

20. THE ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on Latin America

SUSAN FERRISS

Cox News Service

"Broken Promises: How Economic Reforms Have Failed Mexico"

This series stood out among some very strong entries from Latin America. In 12 distinct but connected articles, Ferriss laid out in full how NAFTA has hurt Mexico's coffee, rice, corn, *maquiladora*, and other workers and businesses. Corruption, lack of education, and anti-business laws all combine to make it hard for Mexico to compete in a free market. Unlike the European Union, the U.S. does not help a new partner create the infrastructure necessary to prosper. Ferriss delved deep, used many excellent sources, and wrote clear and thoughtful articles.

CITATION:

Alma Guillermoprieto

The New Yorker
"A Hundred Women"

21. THE ARTYOM BOROVIK AWARD

For outstanding reporting by a Russian journalist who displays courage, insight, balanced yet aggressive reporting, and independence of thought

NATALYA MERKULOVA-SHINDYAEVA

Creative Group KA-Film for TV Angara

"The Cage"

Merkulova and her colleagues Andrei Kaminsky and Ekaterina Bazhenova profiled the heart-breaking conditions faced by children with HIV in the Irkutsk region. These children have been abandoned by their families, and as Merkulova writes, "they haven't been outside a single time; they haven't seen the sky. They see masks instead of human faces; they feel rubber gloves instead of warm hands." To make matters worse some of these children have been misdiagnosed, but their mistreatment in their early years affects them throughout their lives. "The Cage" is a touching, poetic portrayal of a problem that has received too little attention—the growing effects of the AIDS epidemic in Russia.



BOROVIK



MERKULOVA-SHINDYAEVA

CITATION:

Timur Aliev

Moskovsky Komsomolets, The Moscow Times, Russian Courier
"Contemporary Chechnya"

THE PRIZE IS NAMED FOR ARTYOM Borovik, one of the earliest and boldest practitioners of *glasnost* in Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union in the 1980s. Borovik, who won an Overseas Press Club award in 1991 for a *60 Minutes* segment on a Soviet lab where the brains of Vladimir Lenin and other Soviet heroes were stored, was relentless in exposing the malfeasance, corruption, and dirty secrets of Russian officials. Best known for his critical reporting from Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation, he died in a plane crash in 1999 at the age of 39.



037.0006 DCC/US

Just what the environment needs from a car. Water.

If nature had one wish, what do you think it would be? A car that doesn't produce exhaust? We thought so too. That's why our hydrogen powered Fuel Cell vehicles only emit water. In fact, as they've proven in recent road tests, they may well be the alternative drive systems of the future. At DaimlerChrysler Research we're developing these intelligent technologies today. For the automobiles of tomorrow.

For more information, contact Han Tjan, DaimlerChrysler, Corporate Communications, New York, 212-909-9060

DAIMLERCHRYSLER
Answers for questions to come.

Award Sponsors & Judges

AT&T

Hal Boyle Award

Robert Dowling, *BusinessWeek*;
Dorinda Elliott, freelance journalist;
Roy Rowan, author/journalist

Bob Considine Award

William Glasgall, *Investment Advisor*;
Colin Leinster, *Corporate Board Member*; Michael Moran, MSNBC

TIME & LIFE MAGAZINES

Robert Capa Gold Medal

Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Phil Block, International Center of Photography; Cecilia Bohan, *The New York Times*; Jim Dooley, *Newsday*; Alice Gabriner, *Time*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Marcel Saba, *Redux*; Jamie Wellford, *Newsweek*

NEWSWEEK

Olivier Rebbot Award

Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Phil Block, International Center of Photography; Cecilia Bohan, *The New York Times*; Jim Dooley, *Newsday*; Alice Gabriner, *Time*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Marcel Saba, *Redux*; Jamie Wellford, *Newsweek*

COCA-COLA COMPANY

John Faber Award

Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Phil Block, International Center of Photography; Cecilia Bohan, *The New York Times*; Jim Dooley, *Newsday*; Alice Gabriner, *Time*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Marcel Saba, *Redux*; Jamie Wellford, *Newsweek*

Feature Photography Award

Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Phil Block, International Center of Photography; Cecilia Bohan, *The New York Times*; Jim Dooley, *Newsday*; Alice Gabriner, *Time*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Marcel Saba, *Redux*; Jamie Wellford, *Newsweek*

ABC

Lowell Thomas Award

John Corporon, WPIX (retired); Elena Becatoros, Associated Press; Ron Scherer, *Christian Science Monitor*



VERIZON

David Kaplan Award

Kathleen Carroll, Associated Press;
Roger Cohen, *The New York Times*;
Renee Schoof, Knight Ridder
Washington bureau

CBS

Edward R. Murrow Award

James O'Shea, *Chicago Tribune*; Janice Castro, Northwestern University School of Journalism; Mike Harvey, Kurtis Productions; Steve Johnson, *Chicago Tribune*; Jerome McDonnell, NPR in Chicago; Tom Weinberg, Fund for Innovative Television

FORD MOTOR COMPANY

Ed Cunningham Award

Marcus Brauchli, *The Wall Street Journal*; Barton Gellman, *The Washington Post*; Nicholas Kristof, *The New York Times*; Marshall Loeb, CBS Marketwatch

NEWSDAY

Thomas Nast Award

Jeff Bartholet, *Newsweek*; Ed Robinson, *Bloomberg Markets*; Leah Nathans Spiro, HarperCollins

MERRILL LYNCH

Morton Frank Award

Allan Dodds Frank, Bloomberg; Walt Bogdanich, *The New York Times*; Richard Greenberg, Dateline NBC; Betsy Stark, ABC News

FORBES MAGAZINE

Malcolm Forbes Award

Larry Martz, *World Press Review* (retired); Brendan Koerner, *Wired*; Geoff Lewis, *Folio*; Toni Reinhold, Reuters

MORGAN STANLEY

Cornelius Ryan Award

Michael Glennon, Council on Foreign Relations; Jacqueline Albert-Simon, *Politique Internationale*; Patricia Langan, *Fortune* (retired); Andrew Nagorski, *Newsweek*

MADELINE DANE ROSS FUND

Madeline Dane Ross Award

Ian Williams, *The Nation*; David Alpern, *Newsweek*; Maya Dollarhide, Unicef; Betsy West, CBS News

A SUPPORTER OF THE OPC

Carl Spielvogel Award

Robert Friedman, *Fortune*; Robin Ajello, *BusinessWeek*; Lisa Cullen, *Time*; Laure Edwards, Bloomberg News

PHILIP AND KIM DINE

Joe & Laurie Dine Award

Richard Stolley, Time Inc.; Patricia Kranz, *BusinessWeek*; C.J. Prince, *Chief Executive*; Nick Tatro, Associated Press

BURGER ESTATE

Eric & Amy Burger Award

Minky Worden, Human Rights Watch; Maggie Farley, *Los Angeles Times*; Kevin McDermott, new media consultant; Claudia Rosett, *The Wall Street Journal*

AT&T

Whitman Bassow Award

Kathy Gannon, Associated Press; Adi Ignatius, *Time*; Alex Taylor, *Fortune*

ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN

Robert Spiers Benjamin Award

Jeremy Main, *Fortune* (retired); Ann Charters, *Off-the-Record* (Foreign Policy Association); Paul Rogers, *Chief Executive*; Don Underwood, *Life* (retired)

CBS & U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Artyom Borovik Award

In Moscow: Beth Knobel, CBS (coordinator); Jill Dougherty, CNN; Alexander Ovsyannikov, CBS; Fred Weir, *Christian Science Monitor*
In New York: Mark Rykoff, *Time*; Jonathan Sanders, veteran CBS Moscow correspondent; Mark Whitehouse, Knight-Bagehot Fellow



Life is our life's work.

At Pfizer, we've been discovering and developing medicines for over 150 years. It's our history of great progress that drives us forward today.

Fifty years ago, we pioneered mass production of penicillin, laying the groundwork for this country's modern pharmaceutical system. Today, our pursuit of tomorrow's cures includes hundreds of research projects across 18 therapeutic areas. We've made great headway against depression, HIV/AIDS, hypertension, bacterial infections, erectile dysfunction, high cholesterol and many other ailments that continue to plague mankind.

As we move forward in search of tomorrow's cures, we are driven by the unlimited promise of innovation.

www.pfizer.com

ANTI-TUNG PROTEST:
THE DRUMBEAT KEEPS
GETTING LOUDER



HOT FOR DEMOCRACY

*Hong Kong's citizens are voicing their desire
for elections—and their displeasure with Chief
Executive Tung. Beijing is nervous*

Dateline

BY MATT POTTINGER

He's only 6, but Edward Leung is old enough to know that what's happening around him isn't normal, not for Hong Kong. The sea of people shouting slogans; the guy with a bandana holering through a megaphone; the look of concentration on his parents' faces as someone preaches to the crowd about "people power."

Standing in the sweltering July heat, it all becomes a bit much for Edward, and tears start to roll down his cheeks. "I want to go home and watch cartoons," he pleads. His father, K.H. Leung, says participating in the rally is more important. "Just an hour more and then we can go home," he tells his son. "It's the right of the Hong Kong people to demonstrate."

Mass political demonstrations in Hong Kong? I shared some of Edward's bewilderment as last summer's series of pro-democracy rallies unfolded. When I moved to the city a couple of years earlier, the words "Hong Kong" and "politics" were seldom mentioned in the same breath. Political apathy was supposed to be the city's defining virtue, the pursuit of material wealth its proudest ambition. This was a place where evening newscasts opened with the stock market report and where 1 in every 10 cars was a Mercedes-Benz.

But on July 1, half a million people took to the streets to demonstrate against an "anti-subversion" law being pushed by the Chinese government and its hand-picked Hong Kong chief executive, Tung Chee-hwa. Two more demonstrations followed, with tens of thousands of people calling for more democracy.

Hong Kong suddenly felt like the most politically active city in East Asia. Posters depicting a cream pie being smashed into the face of the unpopular Tung were ubiquitous. Some people wore red buttons to work that said "Democracy 2007"—the year Tung's term expires. The auto mechanics around the corner from my apartment building, who had always seemed engaged in discussion about horse racing and soccer during their daily sessions of mahjong, were now loudly debating the prospects for electoral reform.

What was going on? As in South Korea and Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s, rising levels of education, prosperity, and integration with the world had primed Hong Kong residents' desire to elect their leaders. A long spell of economic malaise, record unemployment, and official bumbling by Tung's administration triggered them to do something about it.



ECONOMIC BACKSLIDING, POLITICAL ACTIVISM (FROM LEFT): A VACANT STOREFRONT IN THE CITY'S BUSIEST SHOPPING

Dateline

The public demands for more democracy represent the biggest challenge yet for Beijing and the "one country, two systems" formula that is supposed to govern its relationship with Hong Kong. The forces that led middle-class families such as the Leungs to take to the streets in July foreshadow what could unfold in mainland cities years from now if China's own economic miracle dissipates and people start to become politically active.

Beijing's extreme unease with the situation is becoming more evident by the day. In the weeks that followed the July demonstrations, Chinese leaders attempted to defuse public discontent by shelving the controversial security bill that had sparked the July 1 procession. They also enacted a free-trade pact and other measures designed to improve Hong Kong's economy. The idea was to focus people's minds on money again, not elections.

The economy did in fact improve. But in November, voters still turned out in record numbers for District Council elections and dealt a severe defeat to Beijing loyalist candidates. District Councils have only limited authority, but Beijing fears its allies in Hong Kong may be headed for a similarly poor showing in the more important Legislative Council elections in September. Only half of the 60 lawmakers in the Legislative Council will be directly elected. But if pro-democracy candidates sweep those seats, momentum toward establishing direct elections for the full legislature and the chief executive will be extremely hard for Beijing to manage. It could set Chinese leaders and the Hong Kong public on a collision course.

Under the current system, the chief executive is selected by an 800-person com-

mittee dominated by Beijing loyalists. The city's Basic Law calls universal suffrage the "ultimate aim" and leaves room for changes to the system starting with the 2007 election. But Beijing is making it plain that it doesn't want that to happen.



TROUBLING TIMES: HOMELESSNESS IS A NEW PROBLEM

It worries that Hong Kong people would elect someone uncooperative, perhaps even another Chen Shui bian, the Taiwanese president who is attempting to lead his island to independence.

Now Beijing has begun to play hardball. In early January, the Hong Kong government announced that Beijing had

asked it to postpone a long-planned public consultation process on changing the city's political system. Then in February, Beijing announced that it would allow only "patriotic" people to govern Hong Kong. This was followed up by a propaganda offensive that has branded opposition lawmakers as "unpatriotic," and has cited opposition to the security bill and efforts to promote political pluralism on the mainland as examples of unpatriotic activities. A Chinese academic who helped draft the Basic Law, Xiao Weiyn, told reporters he didn't think direct elections should be permitted for 30 to 40 years.

While the Hong Kong public still openly criticizes the Tung administration, and polls show that a majority wants universal suffrage in 2007, most people have thus far shown little willingness to challenge Beijing directly, especially now that the city's economic recovery is so dependent on good relations with Chinese leaders. Banners and slogans criticizing the Chinese government were virtually nowhere to be seen during the July protests, and editorials in most local newspapers have addressed Beijing's "patriotism" campaign in only the most delicate language.

How long people will be willing to bend to Beijing's will isn't clear. What is clear is that residents' aspirations have changed. During a century and a half of colonial rule, Britain did little to politically enfranchise the people of Hong Kong, which began as a backwater ceded by the Qing Dynasty government during the Opium Wars. A lack of voting rights didn't seem to matter so much to refugees pouring into the city from China after World War II. They were fleeing civil war and a communist revolution on the mainland.



DISTRICT, A SHUTTERED TRAVEL AGENCY, PROTESTERS CALLING FOR A SWIFT TRANSITION TO FULL DEMOCRACY

Dateline

The British, while doing little to develop democracy, had established the rule of law and a free market.

Hong Kong's handover to China in 1997 went smoothly; many who had fled the city returned to try to cash in on the property and stock markets, and on China's economic boom. But the Asian financial crisis of 1997-98 pricked the bubble and precipitated a deflationary spiral that helped fuel record unemployment—8.6% at the time of the July protests.

The economic backsliding was all the more painful because expectations had risen so high over the past generation. The percentage of people with university degrees nearly quadrupled from 1981 to 2001. Newspaper readership is among the highest on earth, with more than 40% of residents reading two papers or more per day, and 70% reading at least one. The city has the second-largest number of broadband Internet connections per capita after South Korea, and 6.3 million mobile phones for a population of 6.8 million. In the July 1 march, a University of Hong Kong poll showed that 40% of the participants were professionals, and 60% belonged to the middle class.

The Leungs were one such family. K.H. Leung, a 42-year-old finance manager at a local bank, and his wife joined all of the July rallies. I met them at the third one, on July 13. It was a lot smaller than the first two but still big by Hong Kong standards—around 15,000 people. Many people held umbrellas to shade themselves from the sun as they listened to activists deliver speeches.

A few days after the protest, I took K.H. out for lunch. It turned out his mother had begged him not to participate

in the rallies. "She was very anxious," he said. "She has such low expectations of society. Her greatest ambition was for her kids to be safe and have a stable life—to earn a living."

His parents immigrated in the 1950s, and his father made ends meet selling cloth, and later men's suits. The hard work afforded K.H. and his four siblings opportunities far beyond what their parents could have imagined for themselves. K.H. earned an MBA in the late '80s, just as Hong Kong was entering a decade-long

Few are willing to challenge Beijing directly—but that could change

boom. He and his wife purchased an apartment, and property values soared. They bought a Mitsubishi sedan. "We thought we were getting rich," he says.

After 1998, however, the value of the his home began a long downward slide—by last summer, the apartment had lost 60% of its value at its peak, and he and his wife owed more on their mortgage than the home was worth. More than 120,000 other Hong Kong families were in the same bind, according to government figures. The soft economy meant that K.H. had to endure four years without a pay raise. He decided to get rid of his Mitsubishi to save money on parking, fees, and upkeep. When he couldn't find a buyer, he left the car in a junkyard.

"We believed real estate would bounce back," he said. "We're still waiting." After years of mounting frustration with Tung, culminating in the government's perceived mishandling of the SARS epidemic and its effort to enact the security bill, K.H. decided to join the July demonstrations when fellow members of his church said they would be participating.

Eight months after my lunch with K.H., I gave him a call. He says he and his wife are more optimistic about their finances, thanks to higher property prices. Their dinner table conversations, he says, have mostly gravitated away from politics and toward matters closer to home: the kids, school, what's happening at work.

He is disturbed by the patriotism debate Beijing has unleashed. "Most Hong Kong people love our country, but there's a difference between 'patriotism' and 'loving the Communist Party,'" he says.

"I don't think Beijing will allow us to choose our chief executive in 2007," he says, and then adds: "Most people won't be brave enough to dare to challenge the Beijing government." He includes himself. He says he's willing to wait another term, until 2012, for direct elections—but only so long as Beijing commits to a timetable and sticks to it.

Will he join the one-year anniversary march planned for July 1? "If Beijing is vague about a timetable for direct elections, then I think I will join the demonstrations. Everybody should have the right to choose the right guy to lead them." ■

Pottinger covers China for The Wall Street Journal. He has reported in Hong Kong since early 2001 and recently was reposted to Beijing.

A HARD CLIMB IN KOSOVO

*The U.N. has set clear goals for the region.
But can strong democratic institutions take
root amid the ongoing ethnic turmoil?*

BY WILLIAM G. O'NEILL

"Stop the killings, my dear friends, stop the violence."

—Benard Kouchner, outgoing head of the U.N. Mission in Kosovo, in 2001

By the time Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic stripped Kosovo of its status as an autonomous region of Serbia in 1989, ethnic tensions were running high. Milosevic and other Serb extremists had begun to talk of "demographic genocide" to describe the relatively high Albanian birth rate in Kosovo and the ever-increasing Albanian share of Kosovo's population. And Milosevic was busily enacting discriminatory laws, firing Kosovo Albanians from their jobs, forcing the Serbian curriculum on all students, even forbidding the transfer of property from a Serb to an Albanian.

Inevitably, the Kosovo Albanians fought back. By the mid-'90s, the Kosovo Liberation Army's attacks on Serb forces became increasingly common and coordinated—and the West faced a nightmare scenario, war in Kosovo. In March, 1999, NATO forces, led by the U.S., began the first military campaign in NATO history. After two and a half months of bombing, Milosevic surrendered, and the U.N. became responsible for governing Kosovo.

The U.N. Mission in Kosovo was born that year, and thousands of international civil servants poured into Kosovo. Non-governmental organizations began working on feeding, housing, and caring for the thousands who had lost everything. And last year, the Mission formulated its Standards for Kosovo. The document's lofty goal: "A Kosovo where all—regardless of ethnic background, race or religion—are free to work and travel without fear, hostility, or danger, and where there is toler-

ance, justice, and peace for everyone."

Unfortunately, the U.N.'s Standards reflect an ideal that Kosovo is far from attaining. Ethnic hatred and violence continue nearly five years after NATO's bombing campaign chased away the brutal Serbian military and police. Extremists in both the Albanian and Serbian communities failed to heed Kouchner's warning. So much remains to be done.

One way to assess the task ahead is to compare the Standards with today's reality in three key areas: the rule of law, freedom of movement, and functioning democratic institutions, including the media.

■ RULE OF LAW

The Standards make it clear that the rule of law is the essential building block of democracy. The document calls on police, judicial, and penal systems to act impartially, respect human rights, and offer all citizens equal access to justice. There must be minority representation in the judiciary and in the police. Measures must be taken to fight ethnically motivated crime as well as economic crime, and to disrupt organized crime networks.

Today, Kosovo falls dramatically short of achieving most of these goals. The power and influence of organized crime is astonishing. Kosovo Albanians, Albanians from Albania, Serb, Greek, and Bulgarian crime families control huge sectors of the Kosovo economy, most of which is in the black market. One international police officer stationed in Kosovo noted that crime is the one area where people overcome ethnic animosity and eagerly cooperate. Smuggling—of cars, cigarettes, drugs, and people—is rampant in Kosovo. Trafficking in women is among the most brutal and shocking criminal activities.

Traffickers abduct or lure women from Eastern Europe—Moldova, Russia, Romania, and Ukraine—to and through Kosovo



ON DUTY IN PRISTINA: THE KOSOVO POLICE SERVICE HAS AGGRESSIVELY RECRUITED MINORITIES AND WOMEN

to Western Europe. Many end up in brothels run by local Kosovo mafia and are "sex slaves." The owners take the women's travel documents and imprison the women, beating them if necessary and paying them nothing, claiming that the women "owe" them money for transport, food, and lodging. While many of the customers of these brothels are locals, some are international peacekeepers and civil servants—to the U.N.'s great shame.

The Kosovo Police Service represents the major success in the rule of law area. The KPS, along with the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the U.N. international civilian police, have conducted several investigations and raids leading to the arrests of



sex traffickers and the liberation and repatriation of enslaved women. In November, 2000, a joint police-military operation broke up a trafficking network in Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje. Seven men were arrested, including several believed to be former members of the KLA. Twelve women from Moldova were freed from sexual slavery.

A reason the KPS enjoys popular support is that the Organization for Security & Cooperation in Europe, which is in charge of recruiting and training the KPS, aggressively sought minority applicants from the outset and applied objective criteria when hiring officers. Recruiters visited minority enclaves of Serbs, Roma,

Turks, and Slavic Muslims and urged eligible candidates to apply. The goal for minority participation is 15%, slightly higher than the estimated percentage of minorities in prewar Kosovo. The KPS classes of roughly 300 each have averaged 17% minorities. "When we get them, we keep them," says School Director Steve Bennett. Classes are not segregated by ethnicity. Cadets live, eat, and learn together. The mission of serving all citizens regardless of ethnicity soon predominates.

Bennett cites several examples to illustrate the point. Some KPS cadets walked through the Albanian town of Vucitrn to give a talk at a local school. A group of townspeople yelled, "Where are the

Serbs?" Answered the leader of the KPS group: "There are no Serbs, there are no Albanians, we are all KPS." He got no further guff from the crowd. In another case, several Albanian cadets saw that a few of their Serb classmates had moved into a room down the hall. The Albanians had empty beds in their room and invited the Serbs to move in with them so that they could get to know each other better. The Serbs accepted. The cadets involved were women, and the KPS has made historic strides by making the recruitment of women a priority. KPS classes have averaged 18% women, an unheard-of level for police in the Balkans.

The KPS experience shows that achiev-

ing sufficient minority representation helps reach two other goals enunciated in the Standards: impartial performance and public respect for the police. Unfortunately, judicial reform has not enjoyed similar success. KFOR troops encountered a lawless state in June, 1999, one with virtually no judges, prosecutors, defense lawyers, police officers, or jailers. The fleeing Serbs took what they could—vehicles, computers, phones, law books, court files, even office furniture—and destroyed the rest.

A nearly all-Albanian judiciary took over, damaging the legal system's credibility and convincing minorities that they could not get a fair hearing. The Albanians who came back to work in the courts had lost 10 years in their profession, and some could not perform in such a charged and stressful atmosphere. Noted one Kosovo Albanian lawyer: "Some good judges have been appointed, but they are people coming out of a totalitarian system, which is like a diver coming from the deep sea to the surface too quickly. He gulps oxygen, but his brain doesn't function normally."

Judges and prosecutors have expressed fear for their safety. They must investigate, prosecute, and sentence powerful people, often involved in organized crime where great amounts of money and ethnic loyalties make the judiciary particularly vulnerable. One Kosovo Albanian judge even begged the U.N. to transfer one of his cases where a senior KLA member was charged with a crime. "I am afraid for my life and for my family," he said. The problem was so great that in February, 2000, the U.N. created panels of judges containing a majority of international jurists for cases involving ethnic minorities charged with war crimes and when the defendants were powerful Kosovo Albanians. The presence of internationals remains crucial to the system's credibility.

■ FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The ability of all people in Kosovo to travel, work, and live without threat or fear of attack, harassment, or intimidation is critical, according to the Standards. Kosovo's citizens must be able to use their own language freely anywhere in Kosovo and enjoy unimpeded access to places of employment, markets, public and social services, and utilities. At this point,

though, the Standards are mere words.

On Feb. 4, 2000, a vicious attack occurred near the Serb village of Banja, west of Mitrovica. A U.N. bus with about 40 Serbs on board was returning from Mitrovica, where the passengers had shopped and visited the bank and post office to collect their pensions. A rocket hit the bus but did not explode. Four people were killed by the impact. The bus contained mostly pensioners and children.

Attacks on minorities haven't stopped. Most of Kosovo's remaining minorities are cooped up in ethnic enclaves. KFOR troops provide 24-hour security for many Serbs, Roma, and other non-Albanian communities and act as escorts when people need to move from one enclave to

citement to violence, and KFOR, to its credit, shut down the station until the owners agreed to stop. The international community had learned an important lesson from Rwanda when a Hutu station broadcast messages to "exterminate the Tutsis"; three of its owners and broadcasters were convicted of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Most of Kosovo's media outlets are connected with a political party or patron; the level of professionalism is quite low. The one independent paper, *Koha Ditore*, often is attacked because it dares to criticize Albanian extremists. After one such editorial, the writer received death threats. Serb papers usually come from Serbia, and many reflect the partisanship of the Belgrade press. One shining light: Radio B-92, which offers objective analysis and news. Thanks to the Internet, the station has a solid audience in Kosovo.

The voices of Turks, Slavic Muslims, and Roma are greatly underrepresented. The Turks, for example, get a few hours a week on a local TV station. Most disturbing, however, is the failure of local leaders, Albanian and Serbian, to condemn, unprompted by the U.N., hate speech and incitement to violence by members of their own communities.

The outlook for Kosovo is bleak. Driven into ethnic enclaves, the Serbs, Turks, Slavic Muslims, and Roma have few job prospects. Their children grow up in a polarized atmosphere with limited options for education. Moderates are at the mercy of extremists who enforce a strict and rigid loyalty and do not hesitate to use violence. Organized criminal gangs dominate the economy and wield vast political clout. With Kosovo's ultimate political status still unclear—independence, remaining a province of Serbia, or some "third way"—uncertainty and fear provide fertile ground for ethnic entrepreneurs to pursue their agendas of hate and intolerance. The U.N. and NATO will need to stay in Kosovo for many years to counter these strong currents and give those who want to construct a multi-ethnic Kosovo built on the rule of law a chance of success. ■

O'Neill chaired a U.N. task force on developing rule-of-law strategies in Kosovo and was a senior adviser on human rights for the U.N. Mission.



MITROVICA: A HANDFUL OF SERBS LIVE UNDER 24-HOUR SURVEILLANCE IN THE ALBANIAN-DOMINATED CITY

another. It is still rare to hear the Serbian language in Albanian areas—the speaker risks his life if overheard. The reverse holds true for Albanian speakers in Serb areas. Freedom of movement remains a pipe dream for Kosovo's minorities.

■ THE MEDIA

According to the Standards, it is essential that Kosovo support a range of private, independent media. Meanwhile, political leaders and the media must work to condemn hate speech. And publicly funded media must devote a proportionate share of attention to all ethnic communities.

Again, this is far from reality. Kosovo has a legacy of state control of media dating to the Tito era. The instincts of a free press don't exist for journalists or the public. When ethnic hatred is added, the situation can quickly deteriorate.

The first warning sign occurred in late 1999, when a local radio station broadcast the names and addresses of the remaining Serbs in a village. Warned to stop, the station owners continued. This was an in-

The Perils of Opposition

Few U.S. politicians dare to dissent in wartime. Now, John Kerry, who voted against one Gulf war and for another, must walk a fine line on Iraq

BY MICHAEL MORAN

The idea of a "loyal opposition"—the high-minded notion that even rivals in a democratic society will put differences aside when vital national interests are at stake—is never so sorely tested as in the days, weeks, and months that precede a war. Such moments in history are especially perilous for opposition politicians. Many a would-be standard-bearer has impaled himself on a vote or public statement of opposition to a war that looks, in retrospect, like the obvious thing to do.

This is particularly true in the United States. Over the two years that the debate over going to war in Iraq raged around the world, America's opposition, the Democratic Party, stood out for its unwillingness to challenge President George W. Bush. By contrast, opposition parties in Britain, Spain, Italy, and other countries that backed the U.S.-led Iraq war took their vehement opposition to the U.S. attack not only to the halls of Parliament but also to the streets.

Yet in Washington, a cocksure White House brandished enough intelligence data on Iraq's alleged weapons programs to win widespread support from Democrats when the issue of force finally came to a vote. Today, many Democrats, including presumed Democratic nominee John F. Kerry, claim their support was based on faulty, even falsified, intelligence. But experts detect a good deal of political calculus behind the "yes" votes of the Democrats. When it comes to war, it seems, the fight generally goes out of the opposition.

"You run the risk, obviously, of being branded by your opponent as unpatriotic," says Dick Melanson, a professor at the U.S. National Defense Universities. "The challenge is to somehow say, 'We support the brave men and women overseas, but

we opposed the policy that sent them there.' Sometimes it is just easier to defer to the president."

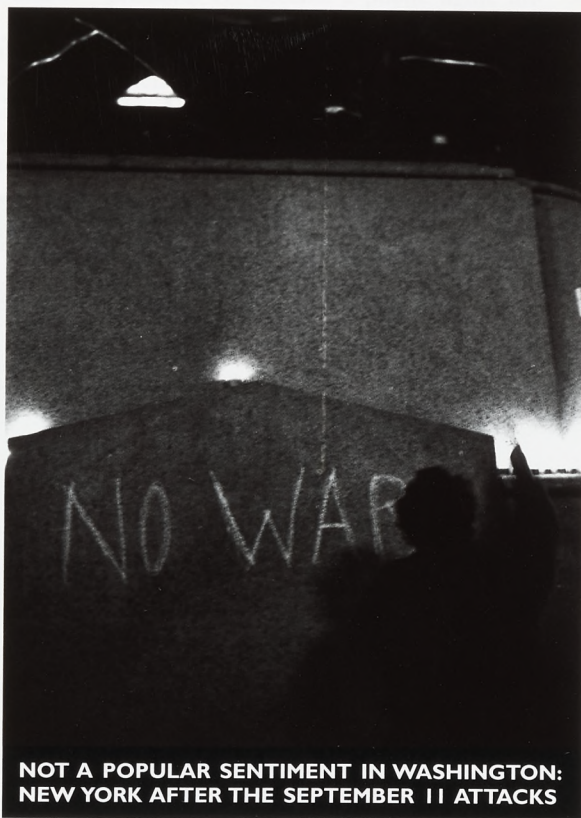
Surely there is no subject that requires free, unfettered debate as that of committing a nation to war. Yet politicians are understandably wary, since the words spoken in such debates, and the votes that follow, regularly come back to haunt those who dissent. They also tend toward hyperbole. Whether in 1916, 1940, 1990,

Warriors are honored and have power, and it is difficult for any politician, democracy or no democracy, to come up against that when the climate turns dark."

This is not to say that politicians uniformly fail to vote their consciences or, when convinced that a terrible mistake is about to be made, are unwilling to go on record opposing it. The great modern-day example of the isolated voice of reason is Winston Churchill, who beginning in the late 1930s warned of the gathering danger posed by the rearming of Germany and the Nazis' alliance with Mussolini's Italy. Ridiculed as a warmonger, Churchill was vindicated in September, 1939, when Adolph Hitler's army smashed across the Polish border.

But Churchill's is a rare case. Historically, politicians have more often tried to earn political capital by opposing wars, and have often suffered as a result. In October, 1941, for instance, U.S. Representative Joshua Johns, an up-and-coming Republican from Wisconsin, dismissed the idea that America should enter the war that was already raging in Europe. Like many in his party at the time, Johns passionately believed Europe's problems to be none of America's business. After all, he argued, "no one I know of has produced the slightest credible evidence that this country is in real danger of attack, no matter who wins the war." Johns's career ended in the primaries in 1942, 11 months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

In 1964, when President Lyndon B. Johnson asked Congress to approve the Tonkin Gulf resolution that authorized the enormous escalation of the conflict in Vietnam, two Democratic Senators, Wayne Morse of Ohio and Ernest Gruening of Arkansas, dared to dissent. Unlike Churchill, however, who returned triumphantly to No. 10 Downing Street when Neville Chamberlain's government collapsed, neither senator reaped any reward for his courage. Both lost their bids for reelection in part because of the



**NOT A POPULAR SENTIMENT IN WASHINGTON:
NEW YORK AFTER THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS**

or the spring of 2003, out-of-power opponents have tended to dismiss threats or inflate the potential costs in money and blood that would result from war; incumbent administrations reverse the pattern, injecting questions about the patriotism of their rivals.

"Our culture, if not a warrior culture, is one that has always admired military leadership and a forceful foreign policy," says Melanson. "Historically, that's one of the defining traits of human civilization.



the weapon of choice for freedom fighters everywhere.

GM salutes the Overseas Press Club and this year's award winners for their achievements in reporting.



CHEVROLET PONTIAC OLDSMOBILE BUICK CADILLAC GMC SATURN HUMMER SAAB HOLDEN OPEL VAUXHALL

© 2004 GM Corp. All rights reserved.
The marks of General Motors and its divisions are registered trademarks of General Motors Corporation.

anger of the Democratic establishment.

The 1972 campaign of South Dakota Senator George S. McGovern, the Democrats' "peace candidate," drives home the perils. McGovern, who won a Distinguished Flying Cross in World War II for saving the lives of his B-24 bomber's crew, nonetheless found it impossible to oppose a sitting president who portrayed the Democratic nominee as allied with unpatriotic leftist forces. In spite of the deep unpopularity of the war, McGovern could not shake the labels pinned on him by the Nixon campaign and lost in a landslide.

Thirty-two years later, the challenges shaping up for this year's leader of "the loyal opposition" are not so different. Massachusetts Senator Kerry, the Democrat likely to run against Bush in November, will be forced to walk a line on the Iraq war that may appear clear and straight one day, then swing off the path as events overseas gyrate. "A candidate running against the reconstruction of Iraq simply is not a viable candidate," says Ken Allard, a retired Army colonel and past president of the U.S. Army War College. "You can argue about going to war, or about a war raging with no end in sight.

But politics is mostly about the future. I don't think Democrats can just run against something that happened in the past without offering a way forward."

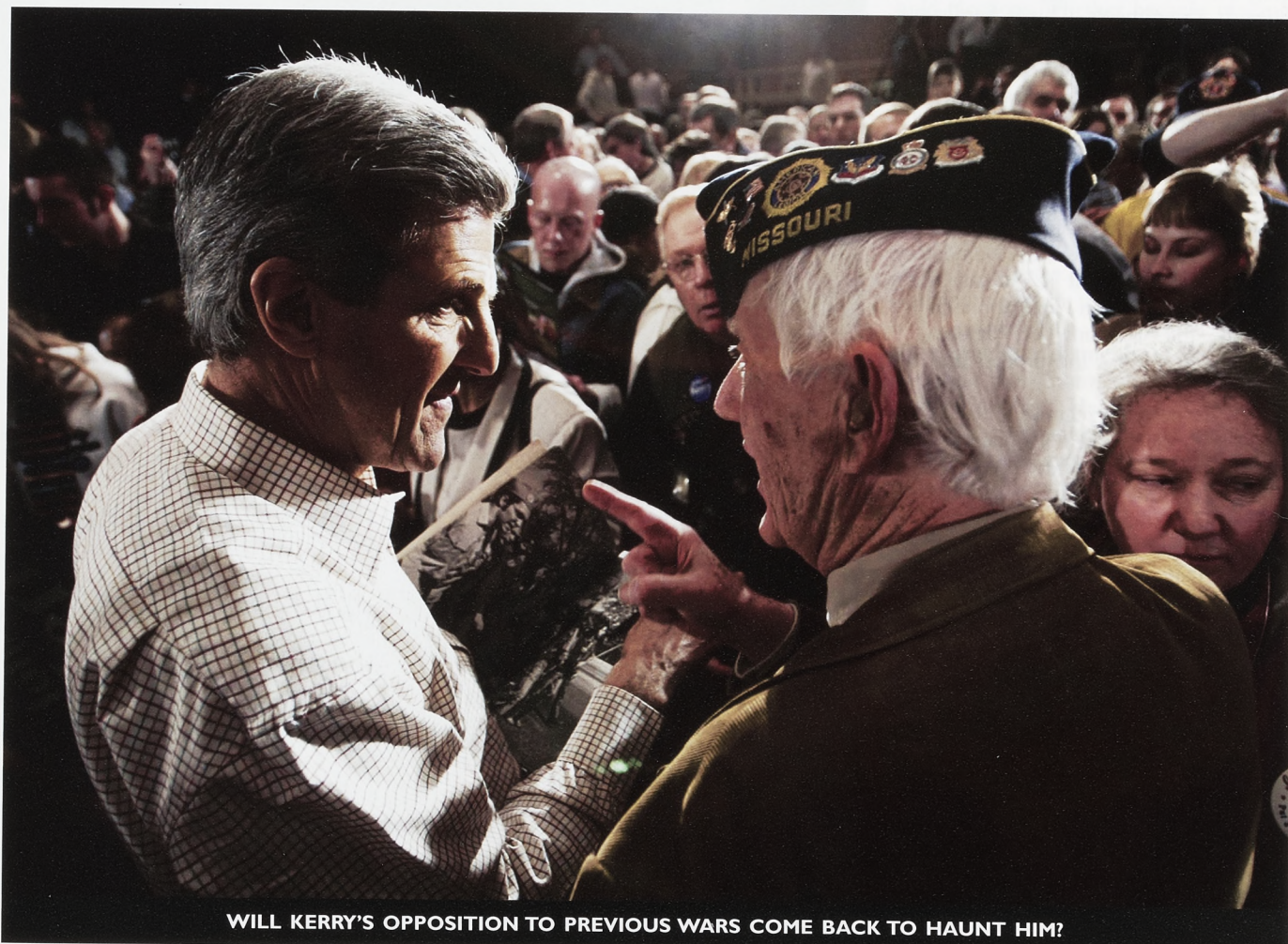
Kerry was among those Democrats who supported the war resolution in Congress. Some Republicans have argued that this will blunt his ability to take issue with events there now. Others disagree. Rachel Bronson, an Iraq expert at the Council on Foreign Relations, says Kerry can criticize, but "his criticism has to be very nuanced, because he supported the war resolution. What I hear him saying is, 'We were not given the facts by the president.' He leaves open the question of whether he would have supported a war to oust Saddam if he had all the facts. And he is going after the administration for failing to have a coherent post-conflict plan."

Kerry still might suffer from his opposition to previous wars and defense appropriations. He became a public figure immediately after returning from his Vietnam service as the leader of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. His 1971 book, *The New Soldier*—sure to be reissued soon by a GOP-leaning publishing house—rails against war crimes commit-

ted by U.S. soldiers in that conflict, which may not resonate with those for whom September 11 was the formative foreign policy experience.

Later, in Congress, Kerry voted against funding for several weapons programs that turned out to be workhorses of the Afghan and Iraq campaigns, including a new version of the F-15 fighter. And he voted against the 1991 Gulf War resolution, which passed by a 52-47 margin, thanks to several other Democrats who supported it, including a Tennessee Senator named Al Gore. "There's a reason that we haven't seen a member of Congress win the presidency since JFK in 1960," says Melanson. "The vote against the Gulf War is just a killer. I honestly just do not know how you explain that." When Kerry tries to do so, it will be a challenge on a par with being, at once, "loyal" and "the opposition." ■

MSNBC.com Senior Producer Moran has led international coverage at the Web site since 1996. At the BBC from 1993-96, he covered U.S. foreign policy, the war in Bosnia, and U.S. involvement in Northern Ireland.



WILL KERRY'S OPPOSITION TO PREVIOUS WARS COME BACK TO HAUNT HIM?

ELECTION VIOLENCE

FROM **A** (AZERBAIJAN) TO **Z** (ZIMBABWE)

BY MINKY WORDEN

Elections are a paradox. They may seem the essence of democratic government, but for leaders aiming to crack down on their political opponents they offer the perfect pretext. That is the lesson of recent polls from Azerbaijan to Zimbabwe, where pre- and post-election violence defines the political process. Civil society and the media face special dangers around elections: Controls on the press tighten, and journalists are often arrested. Iran's Feb. 20 parliamentary elections are a case in point. Ahead of the polls, Iran's judiciary shut down the country's two remaining reformist newspapers, *Sharq* and *Yas-e Nau*.

Around the world, elections tend to bring out the most thuggish instincts of thuggish governments. This is hardly surprising. After all, the very prospect of elections can threaten a sitting government or call into question the legitimacy of regimes whose facade of democracy cannot stand public scrutiny.

"It's ironic that elections, a democratic exercise, become the occasion for crack-downs," said Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy. "But of course that will be the case when governments feel an obligation to go through the motions of democracy, but want to control the process and the results."

Why do despotic regimes and dictators bother with elections? For openers, dictators are often overconfident. Many genuinely believe that they enjoy wider public support than they actually do. Second, elections have become an international yardstick that may serve as a precondition for foreign aid or other benefits. Often leaders feel they need to go through the motions of elections to appease the international community. But they expect to have complete control over the results. There are several ways of cracking down on elections, but one feature is common to all: the silencing of critical opposition, often through the muzzling of the press.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the global trend has been toward more open and democratic societies. But there are forces bucking this trend, notably in

many African countries and in most post-Soviet republics. Here are a few of the ways autocratic elements have seized power, used control of the government to close off democratic space, and unleashed devastating consequences on civil society and a free press.

■ AFRICA

South Africa remains a relative beacon of democracy and press freedom, but much of the continent is facing setbacks fueled by leaders' efforts to stay in power

at all cost. In Zimbabwe, the regime of President Robert Mugabe illustrates the adage "one man, one vote, one time." When Mugabe came to power in 1980, he pledged to bring democracy after years of white-minority rule and civil war. Nearly 25 years later, Mugabe governs by fear and intimidation, and has tried to eradicate Zimbabwe's main opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change.

Mugabe faced his first serious challenge in the March, 2002, presidential elections, which were marred by copious



irregularities and widespread violence. Along with the opposition, journalists in Zimbabwe face increasing pressure, as Mugabe's government tries to muzzle criticism in the face of ongoing political crises. Indeed, the Committee to Protect Journalists has named Zimbabwe one of the world's 10 worst places to be a journalist. Mugabe continues to pioneer new tools of repression, and has even found a way to manipulate food aid for political ends. Zimbabweans are facing a famine, but Human Rights Watch recently documented how Mugabe's ruling party denies food aid to suspected supporters of the main opposition party, among others.

In other parts of Africa, political violence often escalates into a wider conflict, as it did in Rwanda a decade ago. Ten years after the 1994 genocide, the ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) continues

to use the pretext of preventing a recurrence of the slaughter to suppress the opposition and the independent press. In West Africa, civil wars in Sierra Leone, the Ivory Coast, Congo, and Liberia have required international intervention. In Liberia, interim President Gyude Bryant will rule until elections later in 2004. For citizens of countries that have faced decades of war, restoration of functioning government is essential. They view democratic elections as one way to make sure that the warlords who have waged war across the region remain out of power.

■ EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA

In Europe and Central Asia, there was great hope that after the Soviet Union collapsed pluralism, democracy, and basic freedoms would take root. But today, the former Soviet republics are more Soviet

than republic. Elections in the "Stans"—Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan—often produce official returns that favor incumbents by close to 100%. These post-Soviet countries are under neo-Stalinist governments, and remain among the most repressive in the world.

Turkmenistan's president, Saparmurat Niazov, has held office since the country's independence in 1991 and has declared himself president for life. He has absolute power over virtually all aspects of political and civic life and has crafted a cult of personality rivaling that of Stalin. Since the country gained independence, there has not been a single nationwide election that could be considered free or fair. Opposition figures were either driven into exile or imprisoned in the early 1990s. No independent human-rights organizations can operate in Turkmenistan. There are no free media. President Niazov appoints all newspaper editors, and Russian and other foreign newspapers are prohibited. All television stations in Turkmenistan are owned and controlled by the state, as is the country's sole Internet server.

In other parts of the former Soviet Union, leaders feel obliged at least to hold elections, whether because of vanity or international pressure. But in Ukraine, the government is closing down the free press and amending the constitution ahead of elections this fall. As a rule, the less democratic and transparent the government, the more likely that elections will bring violence to those who dare challenge the ruler.

In Azerbaijan, the government has unleashed a massive crackdown on the political opposition in the wake of a fraudulent October, 2003, presidential election. The authorities manipulated the election to ensure that Ilham Aliiev succeeded his autocratic father, Heidar Aliiev, who had held the presidency for 10 years. The fraudulent elections, which plunged Azerbaijan into its gravest human-rights crisis in more than a decade, were marked by hundreds of arbitrary arrests, widespread beatings, torture, and politically motivated job dismissals of members and supporters of the opposition. Many of the abuses, documented by Human Rights Watch, took place on the direct orders of the local authorities, who are appointed by and accountable to the president's office alone.

■ LATIN AMERICA

Across Latin America, the political sit-



MUGABE'S WORLD: A REPORTER IS DENIED ACCESS TO THE TREASON TRIAL OF MORGAN TSVANGIRAI, AN OPPOSITION LEADER

uation has improved in recent years—with some notable exceptions, including Cuba, Venezuela, and Colombia. Cuba remains a one-party state restricting nearly all avenues of political dissent. There are no prospects for free and fair elections on the horizon.

In Venezuela, an aborted military coup in April, 2002, led to an ongoing standoff between supporters and opponents of President Hugo Chávez. Chávez's government helped to establish the right to a recall referendum in the new constitution, but has cracked down on those who try to exercise it. The country's political polarization has often put journalists and the vigorous opposition press at the front lines of the political dispute. In 2002 and 2003, reporters were threatened or even beaten—some by the opposition, but many more by angry government supporters.

Although Colombia is a democracy, it leads the region in reported violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. The country's decades-long war among the army, right-wing paramilitaries, and left-wing guerrillas has Colombians terrified of political participation. Kidnappings are a feature of life, and Colombia remains the most dangerous country in the hemisphere to be a journalist.

■ ASIA

Asia features some of the world's last remaining communist regimes, including China, North Korea, and Vietnam. In China, which practices "socialism with Chinese characteristics," two new leaders, President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao, have recently ascended to power. Both Hu and Wen like to be seen as reformists and, on overseas trips, speak of the need to "involve the Chinese people in decision-making." President Hu recently told the Australian Parliament that "democracy is the common pursuit of mankind, and all countries must earnestly protect the democratic rights of their people." Whatever the rhetoric, however, anyone in China who tries to form political parties or religious organizations independent of government control risks impris-

onment. China's nominal electoral institutions, such as the National People's Congress, are largely a political show.

North Korea is among the world's worst nations in terms of human-rights abuses, though it is hard to say how bad the situation really is because access is closed. North Korea has no free press, no religious freedom, no political opposition—no such organizations of any kind are allowed to exist. Believe it or not, North Korea does have regular elections. Indeed, all citizens—unless they can prove illness—are required to vote. North Korea's ruler, Kim Jong Il, supposedly got more than 99% of the vote in the last election.



IT SPELLS "FREEDOM OF SPEECH": UKRAINIAN JOURNALISTS IN KIEV PROTEST THE GOVERNMENT'S CRACKDOWN ON THE PRESS

North Korea is a prime example of an electoral system that actually reflects a society's lack of freedom. The Pyongyang regime demonstrates how the absence of a democratic and transparent system threatens both global security and regional stability.

■ THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Residents of countries throughout the Middle East and North Africa have long familiarity with their authoritarian governments but short experience with elections. Political power is hereditary by law in Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and smaller Gulf states. In Middle East countries without a monarchy, near-monarchical political powers have been assumed by leaders of long-ruling political parties in countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen.

Egypt and Iran are examples of countries in the region that boast elections and nominal democratic structures, but where there is no real prospect of transferring power. Opposition members or

journalists who criticize the state often end up imprisoned or tortured. Egypt has intensified its crackdown on real or suspected political opponents, tightened control over civil society institutions, and clamped down on freedom of the press. Emergency legislation giving the government draconian powers has been in force almost continuously since 1967.

In Iran, the crackdown against the once-vibrant reformist press signaled the government's unwillingness to tolerate political dissent. Last February's parliamentary elections saw the final gasp of the reformist press in Iran, as the two remaining independent papers were shuttered ahead of the polls. Since 2000, Iran's chief prosecutor has led a campaign to close down more than 70 independent newspapers. The two remaining newspapers, *Sharq* and *Yas-e Nau*, had published a letter from 100 parliamentarians that criticized Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and the hard-line Guardian Council for disqualifying more than 2,000 candidates, most of them re-

formers, from the parliamentary elections.

■ EMERGING DEMOCRATIC BRIGHT SPOTS

Although the recent trend has been toward more violence around elections, there are several recent bright spots, including Georgia and Turkey. In the Republic of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili and a group of reformists came to power after public protests forced the resignation of then-President Eduard Shevardnadze following fraudulent parliamentary elections in November, 2003. The country will have fresh elections at the end of March, which the reformists are expected to win. The triumph of reformists in Georgia has significantly bolstered civil society and the prospects for a free press, though many challenges remain.

Similarly, in Turkey, a historic election in November, 2002, brought a reformist group of self-described "Muslim democrats" to power. Turkey had been a human-rights pariah for two decades, but the Justice & Development Party, known as the AKP, ran on a platform that included

basic rights protections and press freedom. Turkey's leader, Tayyip Erdogan, was himself once banned from Parliament after criticizing the government. Under Erdogan's leadership, Turkey has continued its reformist trend, making more progress in repealing repressive laws during the past two years than in the previous two decades.

Of course, other factors have contributed to Turkey's recent stability and liberalization, most notably the European Union's accession process, which will determine in December of this year whether Turkey will be admitted to the EU. The European Union set certain basic benchmarks for admission, including ending torture and loosening laws that restrict the press.

Both Georgia and Turkey are key countries whose positive example could point the way for other countries in their neighborhoods. The "Stans," for instance, include many former Soviet republics whose citizens also endure massive corruption and repressive government. Turkey's neighbors can take heart from the success that secular Muslims have had at the polls and in building a popular

democratic government.

■ AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ

In some respects, the most sensitive elections in the coming year are slated to take place in Iraq and Afghanistan. In both countries, a repressive regime has been replaced by military force with an interim government that is responsible for holding elections. In Afghanistan, warlords and Taliban remnants have every motivation to control the process and deliver the spoils. However, some Afghan groups, including women, want to participate in public life and need protection to do so. The international community has a strong interest in ensuring that the elections in these countries are not just for show but also bolster the forces in civil society that are fighting for air.

Iraq's constitutional compromise could allow for elections within a year. But bringing the violence under control will be the biggest challenge for a society that has sharp ethnic, political, and religious divides. In both Afghanistan and Iraq, assurances must be made to women that they can participate meaningfully in the electoral process.

As this brief global tour of recent elections shows, repressive regimes employ similar tactics to stay in power. "Dictators have a lot of tricks up their sleeves and will try to use all of them to manipulate elections and stay in power," said the National Endowment for Democracy's Gershman. Still, it is on balance better to have elections than not. Even when they are tainted, polls provide the U.N., donor countries, and human-rights groups an often rare chance to monitor the situation. Elections also offer dissidents and opposition political forces a platform for forcing domestic change.

But it is equally clear that emerging democracy involves more than simply holding elections. If they are to be meaningful, the rule of law must prevail, and there must be basic protections for civil society, the press, and those who take part in the polls. Particularly where democracy is new, unstable, and weak, the international community must ensure that those who hold violent elections will pay a price. ■

Worden is the electronic media director of Human Rights Watch.

Wyeth Congratulates the 2004 Winners of the Overseas Press Club of America Awards



Wyeth

Leading the Way to a Healthier World.

Give us a break!

Ask yourself
a simple question:



what
would
happen
if young

people didn't want to
become foreign corre-
spondents anymore?
"It doesn't pay
enough," they might



conclude.
Or: "The
risks are
too high."

Or even worse: "Let's
get jobs in advertising."

The Overseas Press
Club Foundation pro-
motes the ideal of

becoming a corre-
spondent. We do
that by managing
the largest, most
prominent scholarship
competition for college



students
who
wish to
become

correspondents.

We identify the
best and brightest.
We bring them to
New York and expose
them to decision-mak-



ers at
top news
organiza-
tions.

Over the years, we've
helped dozens of



students
to pay
for the
trip that

gets them a special
assignment or to
obtain their first in-
ternships and their
first jobs. In short,

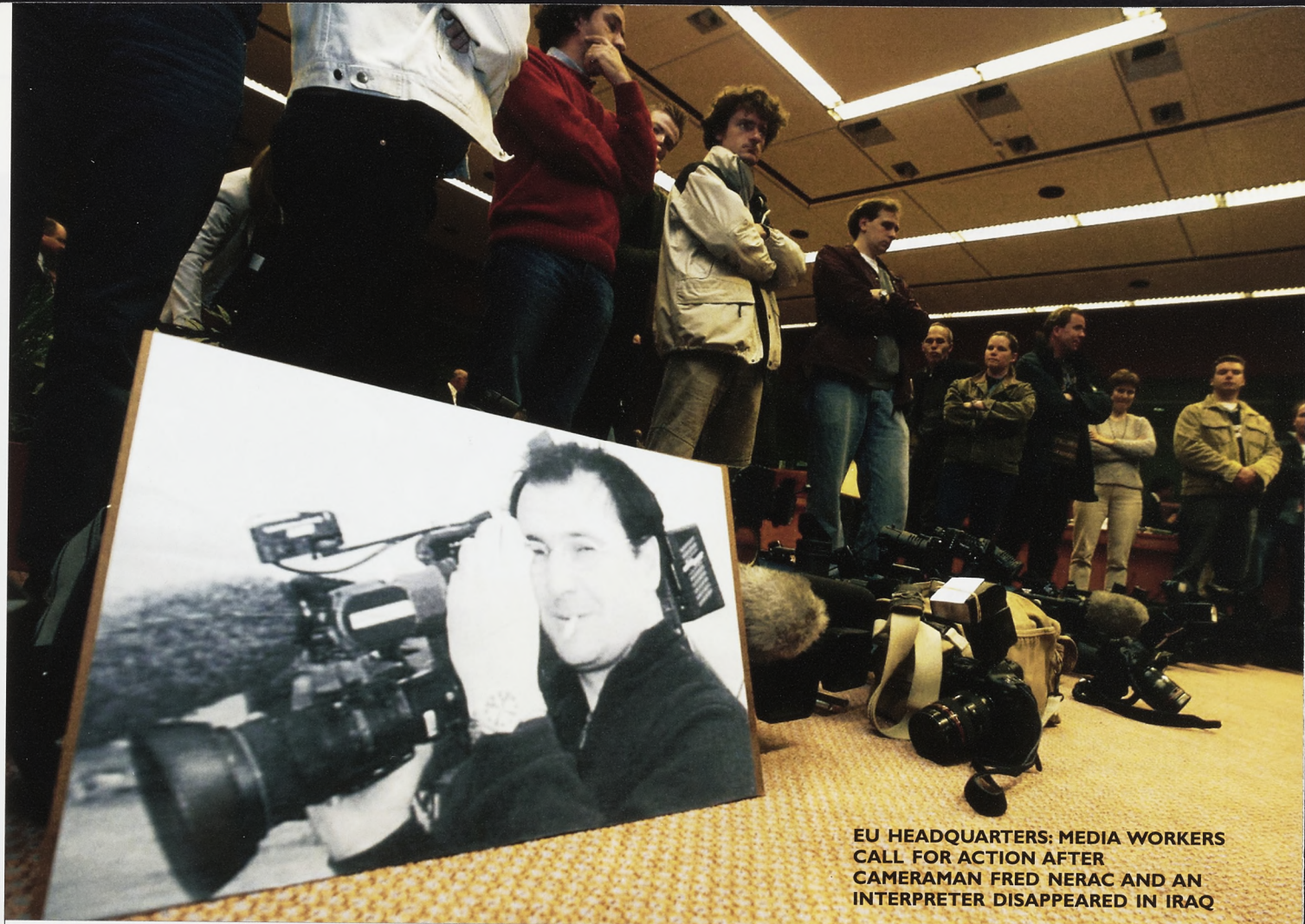


we give
them a
break.

Now
ask yourself another
simple question:
Doesn't it make sense
for you to support
this cause?



THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB FOUNDATION
40 West 45th Street New York, NY 10036



EU HEADQUARTERS: MEDIA WORKERS CALL FOR ACTION AFTER CAMERAMAN FRED NERAC AND AN INTERPRETER DISAPPEARED IN IRAQ

Dateline

TROUBLE SPOTS:

Dateline's Report on OPC Protests

BY KEVIN MCDERMOTT

Last year was an especially perilous one for journalists. Our colleagues at Reporters Without Borders counted 42 editors, reporters, and photographers killed, at least 766 arrested, and 1,460—probably more—physically attacked or threatened. More than 500 media outlets were subjected to official censorship. These numbers eclipse even those of 2002, which was among the worst years ever for working journalists.

Until a few years ago, the condition of press freedom around the world seemed to be improving in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse. It is probably not coincidental that disrespect for free expression increases as governments accelerate their "war" on terrorism. Certainly that was the excuse when sentences were handed out to the more than 200 journalists in pris-

ons around the world as 2004 began.

The Overseas Press Club's Freedom of the Press Committee wrote 140 letters protesting abuses against the media last year, a record number. With the generous support of the Gumpel-Lury Foundation, the committee has also published a pamphlet, "Journalists in Jail," detailing the cases of all the known imprisoned journalists and contact information to enable readers to send their own letters of protest.

Clearly the most dangerous beat in 2003 was Iraq, where according to our colleagues at the Committee to Protect Journalists, 13 journalists were killed by hostile action. An additional six died as a result of illness or traffic accidents, bringing the toll in Iraq to 19. Throughout the year, the committee repeatedly urged the U.S. Defense Dept. to communicate a clearer sense of how coalition troops should treat legitimate journalists. The

lack of clarity cost several reporters their lives last year and contributed to the harassment of others by coalition forces.

Covering a war, of course, is a dangerous activity, and war correspondents accept the risk. Most of the reporters, editors, photographers, and broadcasters we defend, however, are in jeopardy because someone is displeased with their work. That might be a powerful business owner or an angry gangster, but too frequently it's governments that are unhappy, and that write and use their laws as a cloak to shield themselves from scrutiny.

Such rules may also be written into international codes. Among the most insidious threats to journalists in 2003 was the U.N.-sponsored World Summit on the Information Society. The summit's ostensible purpose was to establish a "more inclusive and equitable information society" on the Internet, and to lay down "con-

crete measures" to implement its rules. Despite promises that media groups and civic organizations would be "full participants" in the summit, they were in the end excluded from official negotiations among the 55 invited governments.

In a spirited exchange with several official delegations, the OPC argued strenuously that the summit held great potential for mischief. Phrases such as "right to communicate," "local content," "information as a common public good," "balancing" information flows, and respect for "national sovereignty"—all invoked by the organizers of the summit—were unnervingly reminiscent of the "new world information and communications order" only narrowly averted two decades ago. In the end, defenders of the press prevailed as the summit's declaration specified that "freedom of the press and freedom of information...are essential to the Information Society." As always, however, the struggle continues: A final session of the summit is scheduled for November, 2005.

A summary of the 140 protests issued last year by the OPC on behalf of our colleagues around the world follows. The committee includes Co-Chairmen Norman A. Schorr, Larry Martz, and Kevin McDermott, and members George Bookman, Bill Collins, John Langone, Jeremy Main, John Martin, Cait Murphy, and Minky Worden.

■ NORTH AMERICA

The OPC carried on an active dialogue with the Canadian, Mexican, and U.S. governments in 2003, notably with respect to participation in the World Summit on Information Society. Not surprisingly, the committee was in frequent contact with the U.S. Defense Dept. on behalf of journalists reporting the war in Iraq. In one such case, we joined the editors of Reuters in protesting the arrest of two Reuters correspondents who were trying to cover a firefight, and the subsequent misleading report from the coalition that its troops had been fired on by terrorists disguised as journalists.

Among the most troubling cases in Iraq was that of Frederic Nérac, a French journalist working for Britain's ITN News, and his Lebanese translator, Hussein Osman. The two men came under fire on March 22 while driving to Basra with ITN reporter Terry Lloyd and Belgian cameraman Daniel Demoustier. Lloyd and Demoustier were killed in the cross-fire. Nérac and Osman have not been seen since. At the behest of Nérac's wife, Fabienne, the OPC made repeated pleas to Defense Secretary Donald H. Rums-



DEATH IN GUATEMALA CITY: VETERAN TV REPORTER HECTOR RAMIREZ SUFFERED A FATAL HEART ATTACK AFTER BEING CHASED BY PROTESTERS IN A JULY, 2003, RIOT



<< ATTACKING THE PRESS: SUPPORTERS OF FORMER GUATEMALAN DICTATOR RÍOS MONTT SINGLED OUT JOURNALISTS DURING THE VIOLENT STREET PROTEST IN WHICH RAMIREZ DIED

feld to cooperate with British military police in their investigation into the disappearance of the two men. The British have been disturbed, for example, by the U.S. refusal to share in-flight tapes made by U.S. helicopters during the fighting. To date we have had no response from the Pentagon, and a full year later the fate of Nérac and Osman remains a mystery.

■ SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

The committee spoke up on behalf of colleagues in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Venezuela. The plight of journalists in Guatemala was of special concern in the runup to presidential elections last November. There, clandestine groups—corrupt politicians, drug traffickers, and organized criminals understandably hostile to critical attention—threatened and attacked journalists with apparent impunity. On July 24, followers of Republican Front candidate Efraín Ríos Montt rioted in the streets of the capital and singled out journalists for assault. Among them was Héctor Ramírez, who suffered a fatal heart attack after being chased by protesters. Ramírez, 62, was a veteran reporter for Guatemala's Channel 7. Ríos Montt, members of his family, and members of his political party have

since been subpoenaed for their alleged role in the protests. The son of Héctor Ramírez is seeking to have Ríos Montt charged with murder.

The risks to journalists operating outside Guatemala City were especially great in 2003, and they remain high. In an exchange with Marco Antonio Cortez, Guatemala's special prosecutor for crimes against journalists and trade unionists, the OPC committee called the situation there "an outrage to democracy."

"Shining a bright light on dark, anonymous" forces threatening free expression, the Committee told Cortez, would be the best way of honoring the memory of Héctor Ramírez.

■ ASIA

Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam were all challenging places to practice journalism in 2003. The Committee made eight formal protests to China alone, many of them defending journalists attempting to establish press freedom on the Internet. But we were at least as concerned about the steadily deteriorating situation of journalists in the Philippines, where press freedom has been a tradition.



OTTAWA: REMEMBERING ZAHRA KAZEMI, A CANADIAN-IRANIAN JOURNALIST KILLED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN TEHRAN LAST SUMMER

Seven journalists were killed in the Philippines last year, making a total of 49 since democracy was restored in 1986. Calling the situation "a state emergency," we urged President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo to appoint a special investigative task force to look into the murders. A good place for an investigative unit to begin, we suggested, would be to locate Guillermo Wapile, the fugitive police officer identified by witnesses as the killer of Edgar Damalerio, a revered reporter for public radio DXKP and editor of *Zamboanga Scribe*. Damalerio was murdered in 2002. Wapile was taken into custody in connection with the killing but later escaped under suspicious circumstances.

■ AFRICA

Journalists' lives remain difficult and dangerous in countries including Cameroon, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Gabon, Malawi, Maldives, Mauritania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Togo, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Reporters contend not only with hostility from their governments but also threats to their professional dignity and personal safety.

Zimbabwe was perhaps Africa's most notorious story of 2003. President Robert Mugabe's government appeared to want-

nothing less than the expulsion of every foreign journalist from the country, employing every sort of harassment to accomplish that end. Local journalists were at even more serious risk. On June 2, Shorai Katiwa and Martin Chimenya from the private production company Voice of the People were assaulted by members of Mugabe's ZANU-PF party while reporting on an event organized by the opposition. Katiwa and Chimenya were taken to a police station, and then to ZANU-PF headquarters, where they were beaten a second time. From there police forced them to the home of Voice of the People's coordinator, where the police confiscated administrative files and a computer.

The next day police stopped two journalists from Zimbabwe's *Daily News*, Luke Tamborinyoka and Precious Shumba, as they returned home from work. Before releasing them, the officers made the two reporters crawl along the ground. In four letters in the course of the year, the Committee protested these and other outrages directly to Mugabe, arguing that the creation of a climate of fear and intimidation among journalists endangers not just free expression in Zimbabwe but the country's place among the decent nations of the world. To date we have had no response.

■ EUROPE

Across Europe in 2003—in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Cyprus, Denmark, Georgia, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Serbia, the Slovak Republic, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, and even Britain—journalists faced difficulties, subtle in some instances and overt and disturbing in others.

Sadly, it was not surprising that most of the former Soviet republics continued to be precarious places for journalists. But of growing concern throughout the year was the steadily deteriorating situation in Rus-

sia itself. In June, Dimitri Shvets, the managing director of the television station TV-21, was murdered—apparently in retaliation for broadcasting criticism of the Murmansk municipal government and of candidates for the 2004 municipal elections. In July, Ali Astamirov, an Agence France-Presse correspondent, was seized by armed men in Nazran, the capital of Ingushetia province. Astamirov has not been heard from since. In August, German Galkin, the deputy editor of *Vecherny Cheliabinsk*, was sentenced to a year of forced labor for "libeling" local officials in his reporting. In October, Aleksei Sidorov, editor-in-chief of *Tolyattinskoye Obozreniye*, was murdered. In formal protests to Vladimir V. Putin on behalf of these and other Russian journalists, the Committee reminded the Russian president of his repeated statements about his commitment to a free press. We demanded that these words be matched with action. President Putin has not responded.

■ THE MIDDLE EAST

The hazards of reporting the war in Iraq was issue No. 1 for press-freedom advocates in 2003. That should not obscure the risks faced by our colleagues in Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, Qatar, Syria, and Tunisia.

As the year began, for example, Iran had more journalists in jail than any other country of the Middle East. Eighty-five newspapers had been shut down after passage of a new press law in April, 2000. Reporters who published news of a public-opinion poll that showed most Iranians favored opening a dialogue with the U.S. were deemed to have "passed information to an enemy nation."

The world's full attention was directed to the situation of journalists in Iran with the murder of Canadian-Iranian journalist Zahra Kazemi last summer. On June 23, Kazemi, a contributor to Montreal's *Recto Verso* and Camera Press, was stopped outside Tehran's Evin Prison, where she was taking photographs. After being held almost two weeks, Kazemi was taken to Baghiatollah Hospital. On July 10, it was reported that she had died of a stroke. A few weeks later, Iranian Vice-President Mohammad Ali Abtahi acknowledged that Kazemi had probably been killed by a blow to the head. In late August, a government investigation concluded that she was the victim of what it termed a "quasi-intentional murder." Two of Kazemi's interrogators have been charged in her death. Both are employees at the Information Ministry, which, chillingly, also serves as Iran's Intelligence Ministry. ■

One Fine Mess

Democracy can be a frustrating business, but it's worth the struggle

BY MICHAEL ELLIOTT

Why do we revere democracy? Is it because we think that the decisions taken by democratically elected governments will, over time, advance broad goals like peace, prosperity, and social progress? Or is it because we believe that democratic processes are valuable in and of themselves? The easy answer is "both." But these questions can lead to quite different lines of inquiry. If we believe that democracies produce good governments, what are we supposed to think of elections that produce the "wrong" result? If the virtue of democracy lies in its civic processes, what should be our reaction to the discovery, say, that votes are given differing weights in districts of the same society?

These are not matters just of academic import. For example: We now know that the 1988 presidential election in Mexico was marred by substantial fraud. In that ballot, Carlos Salinas, the candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), defeated a left-wing challenge from Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas after the computer counting the votes was tampered with. (We will never know if Cárdenas would have "won" a cleanly counted election, though he probably would have.) Yet in conventional wisdom, Salinas' victory was essential to economic reform in Mexico. By deepening the liberalization of the economy started under his predecessor, Miguel de la Madrid, and by concluding a free-trade agreement with the United States and Canada, Salinas ensured that Mexico decisively broke with the failed protectionist policies of the past. Cárdenas would have tried to continue them.

Or consider the election in Spain last month. Three days after the bombings in Madrid, the Spanish voted out of office a government that had been a leading member of the U.S.-led coalition in the war against terror. In the narrative that quickly became accepted truth, the result handed a victory to the bombers and their ideological and religious godfathers.

Was the fraud in Mexico somehow justified? Was the democratic election in Spain a disaster for democratic values? In both cases, the right answer is "no." We

can hope that the decisions taken as a consequence of democratic processes are ones that advance human happiness. But we cannot guarantee that elections will produce sensible results, nor should we condemn them out of hand if they do not. Few political decisions are as clear-cut as commentators pretend they are. It is possible that, had Cárdenas won in

Algeria. But, starved of a legitimate channel for their views and grievances, Algerian Islamists took their struggle underground, launching a war of terror that eventually cost tens of thousands of lives. During the last dozen years, Algerians who found one of their *raison d'être* in the FIS's thwarted victory in 1992 have been in the forefront of terrorist movements in Europe and elsewhere.

Thinking of democracy mainly as a process raises issues just as difficult. In the U.S., it is axiomatic that there is a value in constitutional rules—on judicial review, for example, or the separation of powers—that prevent the tyranny of the majority. But many countries with impeccable democratic credentials lack such structures. Until recent legislative changes that established something akin to American-style judicial review, for example, it was accurate to describe modern Britain as an "elective dictatorship," a place where a political party with a majority of one in the House of Commons could control all the levers of state power, subject to no quibble from the courts or anyone else. In the U.S., the contested 2000 presidential election demonstrated an extraordinary degree of confusion, as the ugly face of a kind of hyper-federalism was exposed. To many outside the U.S., the fact that votes for a national leader could be counted in completely different ways depending not just on which state a vote was cast, but on which county, demonstrated a fundamental lack of seriousness about the democratic process.

Democracy, we hope, leads to decisions that advance the public welfare, and offers an opportunity for citizens to contribute to self-government. But democracy's purported values are sometimes perverted by its practical exercise. Our job, as citizens and reporters, is to continue the messy business of thinking and writing about democratic structures in the certainty that while they will never be perfected—no institutions of human design ever will be—we can gradually make them serve the interests of people the world over a little better each day. ■

Elliott, an editor-at-large at Time, was recently appointed editor of Time Asia.



NO MAS: AN ANTI-GOVERNMENT PROTEST IN SPAIN AFTER THE TERROR ATTACKS; A GOVERNMENT SUPPORTER (BELOW)

1988, economic reform in Mexico—when it came, as it was bound to, one day—would have had broader-based popular support than it did under the PRI. In like manner, some good may come of the election in Spain—perhaps the lesson that if governments are to take their countries into unpopular wars, they need to say, with clarity, why they are doing so.

But Mexico and Spain are relatively easy cases. What are we to make of the 1992 election in Algeria, which was canceled after the Islamic party FIS had taken a huge lead? Defenders of the decision can say that, had the Islamists won, it would have been the last free election in



News.

Each week our seasoned reporters uncover pivotal breaking stories that power the national debate.

Trends.

From culture and politics to health and technology, we reveal and even pioneer trends that power change and get people talking.

Voices.

Readers, politicians, even the pundits themselves turn to our award-winning contributors for their powerful perspectives on today's top stories.

Newsweek

FOR ENCOURAGING THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF
PROFESSIONALISM AND INTEGRITY IN REPORTING THE NEWS.

FOR EDUCATING A NEW GENERATION OF JOURNALISTS.

FOR FOSTERING FREEDOM OF THE PRESS
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

FOR WORKING TOWARD BETTER COMMUNICATION
AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLE.

THE MCGRAW-HILL COMPANIES SALUTES
THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AND ITS MEMBERS.